

# Astrology and Numerology in Medieval and Early Modern Catalonia

The Tractat de prenostication de  
la vida natural dels hòmens

*John Scott Lucas*



ASTROLOGY AND NUMEROLOGY IN MEDIEVAL AND  
EARLY MODERN CATALONIA

# THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN IBERIAN WORLD

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VOLUME 18



ASTROLOGY AND  
NUMEROLOGY IN  
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*The Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens*

BY

JOHN SCOTT LUCAS



BRILL  
LEIDEN · BOSTON  
2003

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Lucas, John Scott, 1970-

Astrology and numerology in medieval and early modern Catalonia : the Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens / by John Scott Lucas

p. cm. — (The medieval and early modern Iberian world ; v. 18)

Includes bibliographical references (p. ) and index.

ISBN 90-04-13242-2

1. Astrology—Early works to 1800. 2. Numerology—Spain—Catalonia. 3. Numerology—Early works to 1800. 4. Catalonia (Spain)—Intellectual life. 5. Civilization, Medieval. I. Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens. English & Catalan. II. Title. III. Series.

BF1685.L83 2003

133.5—dc21

2003050219

ISSN 1569-1934

ISBN 90 04 13242 2

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

*I dedicate this book to my grandmother, Leona Lucas, whose ninety-two years of wisdom were a constant source of inspiration.*

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## CONTENTS

List of Figure and Tables .....	ix
Foreword by David J. Viera .....	xi
Preface .....	xxix
Acknowledgments .....	xxxii
Abbreviations .....	xxxiii
Chapter One Prognostication at the Dawn of the Renaissance .....	3
A. Changing World Views .....	5
B. The Catalan Context .....	19
C. Catalan Material in Relationship to Other European Traditions .....	26
Chapter Two Genres of Prognostic Material in the Catalan Language .....	31
A. Astrology and Astrological Magic .....	32
B. Geomancy .....	43
C. Numerology and Astro-numerology .....	47
D. Gematria .....	56
Chapter Three The Present Edition .....	59
A. Known Editions of the <i>Tractat</i> .....	59
B. Physical Description of “B” .....	60
C. Contents, Divisions, and Sources .....	61
D. Linguistic Features and Orthography .....	73
E. Provenance .....	77
F. The <i>Tractat</i> in the Catalan Printing Tradition .....	89
G. The Present Edition .....	90
<i>Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens segons los signes, planetas celestials, e propietats lurs demonstren</i> with English Translation .....	93
Apparatus criticus .....	140
Note on the Translation .....	141



Appendix A. Paleographic Transcription .....	143
Appendix B. Facsimile Reproduction .....	161
Glossary: Catalan—English .....	183
References .....	197
Index .....	203

## LIST OF FIGURE AND TABLES

Figure 1. Houses of the Zodiac .....	33
Table 1. Melothesia in Two Catalan Texts .....	41
Table 2. Melothesia in Two Classical Authorities .....	42
Table 3. Topics of Inquiry in a Popular Catalan Geomancy .....	46
Table 4. Alphanumeric Correspondences in the <i>Tractat de prenostication</i> .....	62

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## FOREWORD

# ASTROLOGY IN THE THIRTEENTH- AND FOURTEENTH-CENTURY KINGDOM OF ARAGON

### I. *Introduction*

The study of astrology began in antiquity and continued to the modern era. Specifically in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this pseudo-science became an interest, and in some cases a passion, of knowledgeable men: kings, princes, those employed by the royal court, doctors, and theologians. Unlike the classical and Renaissance study of astrology, medieval enthusiasts who studied the constellations did not clearly delineate between astrology, astronomy, and alchemy, all of which they brought together in their teachings and written works. This feature was due to the Arabic influence that insisted on observing a series of points or parts of the sky, rather than the Greek practice of concentration on the individual heavenly bodies.

The Catalan writers, their rulers, and several Jewish and Christian astrologers and translators employed by the kings of Aragon studied the works of Greek, Arabic, and Persian astronomers and astrologers. These works include Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, or *Quadripartitum*, in its Latin translation and oriental authors such as Ali Abenragel, Albumazar, and Abu l'Abbas Fargani (Al-Faragani), among others.

From the time of Augustine to the thirteenth century, astrology had lost its prestige as a science due in part to Augustine's depiction of astrology as an illegitimate practice, driven by "the powers of demons" (Wedel 23). Arabic commentaries on Greek astrology and translations to Latin, such as Albumazar's *Introductorium in Astronomiam*, *Liber conjunctionum siderum* and *Flores astrologiae*, brought about a new interest in this pseudoscience in western Europe. This new practice began to attract leading Christian scholars, such as Albert the Great (Wedel 66), who made concessions to judicial astrology, and Roger Bacon (Wedel 72–73), who read both Greek and Arabic studies on this subject, with a preference for Ptolemy.

Leading figures took an interest in astrology in the late Middle Ages. Pope John XXII practiced alchemy, while the Spanish Pope Benedict XIII collected many books on astrology in his personal library (Rubió i Lluç 1917–18: 12). Charles V of France was a patron of astrology, and amassed one of the leading libraries of Europe, containing some 11,000 books in the form of manuscripts (Wedel 94–95), many of which were astrological studies; he also brought to his court a cadre of prominent astrologers.

## II. *Arnau de Vilanova*

Arnau de Vilanova is regarded by many as the leading physician of his time, the thirteenth century. He held the Chair of Medicine at the University of Montpellier during the last decade of this period. Leading potentates and popes vied for him to be their personal physician, including the Kings of Aragon, Pere III and Jaume III of Majorca, Frederick of Sicily, and popes of Avignon, Boniface VIII and Benedict XI.

Arnau accepted only theology and knowledge based on natural science, and rejected philosophical speculation, especially Scholasticism. In short, he sought God throughout nature. Religion was therefore accessible to all human beings because it was based on experience and revelation, not on philosophy. Using the deductive method, Arnau bypassed philosophical speculation by asserting that experience brings about reason, both of which are the sources of science. One must therefore reach God through nature.

Having discarded philosophy, Arnau opted for a new concept of man and the cosmos whose origins lie in Neoplatonism. In this process, however, Arnau gave precedence to imagination rather than to an objective scrutiny of data found in nature. The result of this process was magic and spiritualist theories, described as “una concepción fantástica de la naturaleza” (Vilanova 1:217).

Arnau studied humans (their differences, abnormalities, sicknesses, witchcraft) and concluded that a vital force he called “spiritus” (an immaterial force “fluido” of cosmic character) became an intimate and motivating part of each individual being. Arnau did concede in his *De conservanda* that the stars do not have a prophetic hold on men, but rather dispose than compel (“necessitas”) them. He added

that the role of scientific knowledge is important in this process.

Arnau was also convinced that the psychic influence of one being can also affect others who come under its domain by allowing others to control one's will (e.g. necromancy). Easily transferred from one being to another, this vital force owes its source to the constant motion here on earth caused by celestial bodies. However, it is God who sets the stars in motion, causing positive results on humans. There is also a hierarchy in which pure spirits influence inferior ones, such as the human soul. Only God can control evil spirits, although God can allow holy men to control diabolical beings, but no evil person can invoke demons. Furthermore, the celestial world may govern nature in a specific way, again through the influence of the stars, which possess a hidden virtue that does not exist in humans. This cosmic animation has the power to create gold, whereas alchemists may bring about a stone that only resembles gold, because they lack this hidden virtue.

These convictions taken from astronomers, astrologers, and alchemists of the past formed the basis for Arnau's medical practices, which manifested themselves in magic and astrology. His treatments and potents accorded with this occultist concept of nature.

Astrology played an important role in Arnau's medical practices. Objects suspended in space could have a positive or negative effect and, most importantly, a hidden force or "virtues," and the application of these "virtues" constituted his practice of medical astrology. This form of cure was based on lunar phases and especially the influence of the predominant star on the human body. In addition, in the *De iudiciis astronomiae*, Arnau concluded that the current zodiacal sign of the moon is of greater importance in curing a patient than is the motion of heavenly bodies, specifically on their effect on prescribed medicines (McVaugh 164). He resorted also to amulets and images of celestial bodies that were composed of valuable minerals, as well as the use of seals (see his treatise *De sigillis*).

Arnau wrote books on medicine and was a pioneer of the main occult sciences in the Latin West, including alchemy, astrology, and the interpretation of dreams. Lynn Thorndike (3:155–60) and Joaquim Carreras Artau (in Vilanova 2:19–86), among others, have shown that throughout the late Middle Ages and Early Modern era, Arnau's medieval and pharmaceutical treatises were studied and translated. A leading treatise on alchemy, Arnau's *Rosarius philosophorum* became

a well-known work in light of numerous manuscripts and printed editions of and commentaries on its content. It is obvious that Arnau's major contribution to astrology was medical astrology, and the lengthy treatise, *Capitula astrologiae de iudiciis infirmitatum secundum motum planetarum*, is a major source of this branch of astrology. The *De sigillis* describes the structure of amulets and their purpose for special occasions.

### III. Ramon Llull

Ramon Llull, a contemporary of Arnau, informed his readers about astrological and astronomic beliefs in several works, including *Felix* (1288), *Libre de meravelles* (1288–1289), *Arbre de sciència* (1296), and *Tractatus novus de astronomia* (1297). Like other medieval Hispanic authors, Llull came under the influence of Ali Abenragel and other Arabic astronomers and astrologers, although his traditional system of correspondence has been described as simple, traditional, and derived from Ptolemy, “the most exact” (Samsó 201–02). He assigned a letter, A to D, to each of the four basic complexions, and then established connections between these and the signs of the zodiac and the planets. He also used houses in which the maximum influence of each sign is reached. Furthermore, each planet represented a human quality, a metal, and a day of the week: (e.g. Saturn: evil, lead, Saturday).

Despite certain errors in his astrological system, Llull attempted to supply elements lacking in the traditional system by resorting to his *Art*, thereby bringing to medieval astrology a unique feature. And although especially interested in some 28 planetary “conjunctions,” Llull was unable to solve the problem of the number of possible “conjunctions” on the seven planets in the sign of the zodiac (Samsó 205–207). However, like other religious figures of the time, Llull used caution. In several works, he addressed the doctrines of free will and God's omnipotence (Samsó 204; Bonner 14; *Libre de meravelles* 1:156–57), although, according to Juan Vernet, Llull's acceptance of the free-will doctrine was not of “excesiva importancia” (189–91).

Ramon Llull also showed interest in medical astrology, taking into account the complexion of humans together with medicines derived from plants, in relation to the stars. Furthermore, the nature and amount or degree of medicine prescribed to a patient suffering from a humoral imbalance was determined by the person's horoscope

(Samsó 204). Llull also was conscious of the uses of the astrolabe and astronomical tables and learning to tell time on the astrolabe.

IV. *The Catalan Kings of Aragon and Astrology:  
Pere the Ceremonious and His Sons*

As a youth Jaume II sought the knowledge of astronomy and the occult as well as medicine and other oriental science. His son and heir, Alfons IV (1327–1336), translated from Latin to Catalan a book on solar and lunar eclipses (Beaujouan 14–15). It was, however, during the reign of Pere III (1336–1387) that astrology, alchemy, and astronomy became a major interest of study.

Pere, whose main emphasis was in astrology and alchemy, populated his royal court with Jewish astrologers who were asked to produce astronomical instruments. Encouraged by his father Alfons' interest and the works on astronomy that issued forth from the court of Alfonso X of Castile, Pere requested that astronomers Pere Gilbert and Dalmau Ses Planes observe the course of the planets. He also ordered an almanac to be written between 1360 and 1366. In collaboration with the astronomers Jacob Al-Corsi, author of a treatise on the astrolabe, Pere drew up a book on astrological tables and the eight spheres that was published in Hebrew, Latin, and Catalan (Beaujouan 16–17). He also purchased works on astrology (Rubió i Lluçh 1908–21, 2:171; Rubió i Lluçh 1994: 231–32).

Pere's interest in alchemy is shown by his allowing Joan d'Ulzinelles, "militis," and Gabriel Mayol, "jurisperitus," to write a book on "alchimie auri et argenti" (Rubió i Lluçh 1908–21, 1:319). In addition, Pere endeavored to obtain astronomical paraphernalia from Vidal and Bellshom Efraïm (Rubió i Lluçh 1908–21, 2:xvi), as well as an astrolabe from another source (Rubió i Lluçh 1908–21, 2:171).

Pere's curiosity about astrology became an obsession with his son and heir Joan I (1387–1395), whom Rubió i Lluçh described as "more superstitious than his father" (1917–18, 12). Joan consulted frequently with astronomers and astrologers, such as Juce, Jew of Osca, on matters concerning the wedding celebrations, the births of his children, and other important events (Roca 141). Joan suffered from an illness described as an acute form or type of epilepsy (Tasis 165–66). However, convinced that these symptoms were caused by witchcraft, Joan's wife, Violant de Bar, the niece of Charles V of France, resorted to reading the *Cogonina*, a famous work on necromancy



by the bishop of Barcelona, Jaume Cigó. Joan's symptoms subsided, leaving him mindful of the importance of medicine. He became an avowed protector of science in general and astrology, and of the Jewish and Moorish minorities, to whom he felt indebted, especially of Jewish men of science (Tasis 165–67). His interest in astrology, described by Rubió i Lluch (1917–18: 18) as incorrigable, became a pastime along with music and hunting.

Jewish astrologers were among Joan's main resources for astrological works. Before ascending the throne, Joan requested books from his contemporaries, including Bartomeu de Tresbéns, who was asked to visit Joan and bring with him all his books on "astrologia i física" (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21, 1:264). A similar request was made to Jucef Abernaduch the same year (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21, 1:195). In 1379 Joan insisted that Dalmau Ses Planes bring him a book on solar and lunar eclipses. Later, in 1381, Isaac Nafusi of the royal court, commissioned Vidal Efraïm, a Majorcan Jew, to finish several works on astrology for Joan (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21, 1:293). During the same year Joan acknowledged the receipt of a book by Ali Aben Jaren (Alfagra), and requested a volume by Ali Abenragel from the king's archives (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21, 1:320 and 2:xxvi).

Martí I (1387–1410), who became king at Joan's death, is known to historians as "el Humà" (the Human), because of his dedication to the humanities. He is also known by a less familiar and rarely used sobriquet, that of "Eclesiàstic." Rubió i Lluch (1908–21, 2:xlvi) conceived of Martí as a "monk" who became the legitimate heir and was crowned king. What Martí lacked of Joan's interest in sciences and the pseudo-sciences, he made up in religiosity. Martí faithfully attended church services, enjoyed staying in monasteries, read the breviary, and decorated churches, including his own chapel. He also became a close friend of Benedict XIII, the last of the Avignon popes.

Martí also followed Pere's and Joan's passion for collecting and reading books in different disciplines. However, he preferred to acquire religious works (Bible, Psalters, missals, books on hagiography, the liturgy, and speculative religious works). This is not to say that he lacked interest in astronomy and pseudosciences. Martí inherited a library containing some 3,000 volumes, about fifty of which dealt with astrology and necromancy. Of these fifty volumes many came from the private libraries of Pere and Joan (Rubió i Lluch 1917–18: 12–13).

V. *Francesc Eiximenis*

To date no comprehensive study has been written on Francesc Eiximenis' (1327–1409) views on astrology, partly because much of his writings remain in manuscript form. Despite the absence of editions, an evaluation of any subject on the late medieval Kingdom of Aragon must include his opinions and insights for the following reasons. Eiximenis set out to complete an encyclopedic work, in the medieval sense of the term, which he titled *El Crestià* (The Christian); he divided the work into thirteen books that addressed most aspects of Christianity. Only four books are extant, a fact that leads scholars to the conclusion that he never penned them. Instead, Eiximenis included new material meant for the *Crestià* in later works he wrote on women, moral theology, ascetism, Christology, etc. His writings from 1383 to 1392 centered around social topics, for which he earned the reputation among twentieth-century scholars of being the chronicler of late medieval society in the kingdom of Aragon.

Before bringing to light his astrological beliefs, let us recall two historical sources on Eiximenis and the occult sciences. First, Eiximenis was accused of teaching Pope Benedict XIII necromancy (Probst 6). However, the accusation lacks validity given the friar's opposition to necromancy and his turning toward asceticism, prayer, and Christology in his later life, when he came to support the Spanish pope. Did this anecdote originate from malice, confusion with, or misrepresentation (i.e. Arnau's teaching Pope Boniface the art of alchemy)?

Unlike this questionable charge, Eiximenis' confrontation with Joan I is well documented and scrutinized (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21, 1:372; Bohigas 31–34; Roca 139–40). Eiximenis, who was drawn to prophetic-apocalyptic tendencies, wrote in the *Dotzè* (ch. 466) that in the year 1400 all kingdoms of the world would cease to exist except the kingdom of France and its rulers. The passage apparently went unnoticed for several years by the Catalan kings, but in 1391, following on the heels of the Jewish pogroms in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, it came to Joan's attention, and he immediately called upon his chancellor, Pere d'Artés, to present a letter to Eiximenis stating: "Mestre francesch Ximeniz qui a vegades sentremet de lart de astronomia, pronostica e diu que ans que no passara lany Mccc. no haura algun Rey de cristians al mon, sino tansolament rey de França" (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21, 1:172). Placed on the defensive,

Eiximenis wrote back an apologetic letter to the king, which Joan answered (Rubió i Lluç 1908–21, 1:373–74).

Like his predecessors Ramon Llull and Arnau, Eiximenis wrote prolifically. However, he was a compiler rather than an original author, although at times he assertively expressed his beliefs. One finds at times in his works contrary opinions on minority groups and confrontational topics during his lifetime. Regarding his views on astrology, Josep Torres i Bages wrote:

Eiximenis s'hi veu sovint la lluita entre l'obediència que vol tenir a l'autoritat de la Iglésia, qui damnava l'astrologia judiciària, i la seva forta afició a les arts secretes i amagades que li prometien resultats meravellosos; així, no obstant lo transcrit, en altres llocs manifesta les extralimitacions de l'astrologia, i al tractar de la arts i oficis damnificants a la societat enumera als “alquimistes qui comunament són orats e enganadors (106).

I have cited or summarized representative passages culled from several of Eiximenis' works in order to analyze Eiximenis' attitude toward astrology and any contradictions concerning this pseudoscience that are evident in his works in light of Torres i Bages' passage, and will attempt to explain his attitudes toward these ancient sciences.

Eiximenis dedicated several chapters of his first extant work, the *Primer del Crestià* (1379), to astrology. Of the subjects that do not pertain to the clergy's curriculum (“no pertanyen a religiós”), he included arithmetic, geometry, and especially astrology (*Primer*, ch. 32). Eiximenis also reacted negatively to geomancy, “aquella mala art” (*Primer*, ch. 70).

In the *Primer*, Venus, which represents the earth, and especially Jupiter are the most favorable stars. He also equated six planets with the six major religious groups he regarded as the most important: the Jews, Caldeans, Egyptians, Christians, Muslims, and followers of the Antichrist. He revealed his source as Albumazar, “*Livre des conun-tions*”, Books 1–2, probably a commentary on the author's *De magnis conjunctionibus*. In the *Primer*, ch. 184, Eiximenis opposed Albumazar by upholding the Christian belief on free will, citing St. Bernard and other Christian writers. Here Eiximenis introduced a proof repeated in his subsequent works, stating that Islam, which was to last 693 years due to the influence of Jupiter and Venus, had outlived itself some 800 years; therefore, he concluded that only God knows the future. The author also refuted Albumazar's and other astrologers' belief that the planets were the cause of miracles (*Primer*, ch. 61).

Eiximenis made mention several times in the *Primer* that he would return to the topic of the constellations “coses celestials” and related subjects such as magic, unexplained phenomena, and diabolical works in the eighth book of the *Crestià*, which he probably never wrote.

In the *Segon del Crestià* (chs. 94–98), Eiximenis presented his most lengthy exposition on judicial astrology, specifying the location and ascendance of a number of planets. He also revealed his source as “Ali, gran astrolech, fill de Abeutragil, en lo terç libre seu dits Juys astrolechs.” The astronomer to whom he referred is the eleventh-century Ali Abenragel (Gascón 394–95). Eiximenis included in chapter 94 of the *Segon* a detailed account about whether constellations could be used to interpret “natural” dreams and visions.

In chapter 95, the Franciscan began his refutation of Ali Abenragel’s astrological convictions, stating that only the meaning that God gives to dreams and visions is true: “negun nos deu friar en ni deu dar fe a negun jhuy astrolech sino fort atart e ab comuna concordancia de molts sciens en la dita art e en materia que nos puxa regir ni mudar per nostre franch arbitre.” Eiximenis went on to say that no clergyman should study astrology because such study conveys a bad example.

According to Eiximenis, before the coming of Jesus learned men studied and upheld the validity of astrology, but after his death astrology no longer was considered a reliable study for predicting the future. Here Eiximenis resorted to a common practice with which to refute Islamic and Jewish astrology: the works of Ptolemy: “lom per prudencia natural pot senyorejar a les steles, e per consegut molt mils hi senyoreja hom devot, requirient e tement Deu, qui solament posa sa fe en Deu.” Likewise, in chapter 98, Eiximenis summarized his conclusions, again citing Ptolemy: celestial influence cannot cause one to sin because free will can overcome the stars’ force, especially with the help of divine grace.

In the *Terç del Crestià* (chs. 133–34), Eiximenis continued in the same vein of argumentation, partly popular and partly scholastic, on the root of evil. Eiximenis was fond of stereotyping different racial groups. In these chapters he described the Germans and the English as serious and easily provoked, while the French were happy and easygoing. These stereotypical discussions moved gradually to the planets and constellations as the cause of racial personalities. Here Eiximenis repeated his much-used astrological example, which he described as “la general sentència dels estròlechs”: humors, which

Eiximenis called “malicies”, appear in specific regions that are governed by a specific planet. Therefore the influence of Saturn is felt in regions in which men are malicious and stubborn, and Venus, where men are sensual (1929–32, 2:18). Again Eiximenis repeated the reference he insisted came from Ptolemy (1792 [MS], ch. 14), stating that Saturn and Mars cause malice in those born under their sign, and Jupiter exhibits “bons costumes” to all. Those born under the influence of Mercury show a positive trait (good nature) and their negative side (evil) (1792 ch. 686).

Eiximenis also used astrology for his own ends and proofs. In his writings, especially in the *Primer*, he put forth characteristics of non-Christian racial and religious groups that inhabited Iberia in the Middle Ages, mainly Jews and Moors. The Franciscan also stereotyped Jews in chapter 119, in which he added “la malicia judayca,” labeling them with traits and moral characters caused by the influence of Saturn, which is melancholic, cold, dry, nocturnal, and powerful. More concretely, Eiximenis, basing his conclusions on Ptolemy’s *Quadripartitum* 2, chapter four, concluded that Jews were not adept as government leaders because of their indecisiveness, laziness, melancholy, and other negative traits.

Despite the constant mention of free will and God’s grace as deciding factors in one’s salvation, Eiximenis was indeed attracted to astrology and astronomy. Contemplating the beauty God created, Eiximenis asked his reader to look to the heavens: “e pensa lavors quina granea es aquella del cel scelat e veuras que segons que posa los astrolechs, tota la terra no es sino un punt e un centre petit e invisible per esguart d’El” (1792 [MS], ch. 939). Again in the *Llibre de les dones* (1392), Eiximenis insisted that his reader contemplate the beauty of the works of God, “axí com són los cels, e.l lur ornament, movement e ferm estament, e influximent e influència a les coses jusanas leva molt lo cor a loar lo poder de nostre senyor Déu” (2:526). This beauty revolves around the earth, which Eiximenis paints in dark hues (1971: 433).

The *Dotzè libre del Crestià* is, in large part, concerned with the education of the prince. Eiximenis is ambivalent in giving advice to royal leaders on the reliability of astrology. In the second part of the *Dotzè*, in which he placed freedom of the will above astrological influence, the Franciscan suggested that the prince take into account the personal constellations of those who govern (2:2,310–11), especially if they are of “complexion diversa” (*Dotzè* 2:2,293). The prince must

also allow predication of his food, especially at banquets, as well as the hygiene and the direction of his responsibilities (2:1,198). However, the prince must not place much faith in astrology because he will lose confidence in God and thereby allow the luminaries to control him (2:1,198).

In another chapter of the *Dotzè*, Eiximenis referred to astrology as a “sciència errable,” in which several astrologers might predict contradictory interpretations of the stars: “sobre una matexa conclusió diveres astròlechs fan juys contràries” (2:1,209). Eiximenis therefore followed the theological approach by repudiating the astrologers’ opinions and adding exempla in which Julius Caesar (2:1,264–65) and Robert of Sicily (2:2,218–19) show their disregard for astronomy.

In the *Dotzè*, (ch. 24), Eiximenis stated that Barcelona, his model city, owed its origin to a fortuitous constellation. Based on his source, Halirafal’s *Judiciari*, this city’s fortune and prosperity was due to the fruitfulness of its generations of Catalans, especially their intelligence, wealth, and modest honors.

The *Dotzè* (chs. 108–10) deals with the question about whether constellations can affect construction of cities or dwellings. Eiximenis brought forth unexplained occurrences: a person dies of the plague whereas his neighbor is not affected by it; a woman gives birth in one home, yet when moved to another house she cannot conceive. Eiximenis again resorted to Ptolemy (propositio xxii, xxxvi) to affirm the influence of certain stars. These two chapters were recently studied together with chapter 126, which reads somewhat like an almanac. Eiximenis began the latter chapter by referring to New Year’s day, which fell on a Sunday, and made predictions for each day, including the weather for the year, divided into the four seasons, agricultural predictions, natural disasters, diseases (including plagues), and war. He concluded this discussion by revealing his source:

Diu Alidonium Cordubensis, recitant les dites coses per vida de natura, ajuda molt lo art de astrologia, mas sobre tot es posar bo en les mans de Nostre Senyor Deu a quia pertany principalment saber les coses esdevenidors e al qual plau mes hom se reta ignorant en esta materia per la sua reverencia, que no massa entrecuydat per propria astucia.

The aforementioned scholars who have studied the three chapters as a unit found it odd that Eiximenis would dedicate so much material to the influence of the constellations, especially the predictions

for each season and, in a brief paragraph, negate under the banner of free will all that he had written regarding astrological beliefs. They offer two conclusions: either Eiximenis used astrological references to lure his readers, given the popularity of astrology in the fourteenth century, or the Franciscan was attracted to astrological predictions. However, to avoid the risk of being a true believer in judicial astrology, he relegated these astrological assertions to men of the past and placed at the end of each treatise on astrology a refutation that included the undeniable beliefs in the ultimate power of free will and God's ability to control the stars.

In chapter 120 of the *Dotzè*, on how the influence of the stars creates a virtuous king, Eiximenis admitted *Cronica* that evil rulers, such as Baltasar, according to rabi Heleatzar's *Cronica judaica*, prospered and were fortunate in war, as was Sciprion Africanus, a virtuous leader. Here Eiximenis somehow omitted the reference to free will.

Throughout part 1 of the *Dotzè*, especially in his treatise on the prince and war, Eiximenis discussed the effect of celestial bodies on victory in battle. These chapters include the *Dotzè*, ch. 223, which concludes, according to Ptolemy, that men are more inclined to excel in war: the influence of Mars, which predestines men born under this sign to become virtuous and fortunate in battle.

Chapters 284–286 are especially informative. In chapter 284, “Com la constellacio celestial ajuda en batalles,” Eiximenis described several remedies for misfortune that border on the occult. However, in the next chapter (285), he refuted their remedies, insisting that the Church opposed such beliefs. Eiximenis (chs. 285–286) preferred the “merits de les volentats dels homens e ordinacio divinal” to the “pura obra de natura,” and denied potions and incantations, leaving all in God's hands. He also labeled such practices as bitter superstitions, referring his reader to Machabeus 1.3. However, in the *Dotzè* 2, Eiximenis continued to return to the science of astronomy and pseudoscience of astrology in order to predict success in battle. In chapter 550 (2:1,189), he described Alexander as learned, handsome, rich, fortunate in arms, and amiable, and accepted the influence of the stars. But the friar immediately stepped back, warning those who examined these influences too closely that they would fall into the superstition of the devil. Here again he returned to the Christian acronym of free will and divine grace in Ptolemy's works.

Also, his *Llibre de les dones*, Eiximenis, recalled Alexander once again

in a chapter in which the author sought to prove that it was possible for an illegitimate child to become a good Christian. Eiximenis' description of Alexander as a "bon cavaller" gradually became tarnished when he listed defects he attributed to the Greek's supposed illegitimacy: "fort pompós e altiu, desconexent a molt e taccat d'als-cuns vices," some of which Eiximenis attributed to the ruler's evil tutor. To disguise his illegitimacy, Alexander wished to be called "son of Jupiter." Although as the son of Jupiter he could not rule the "empire of Greece," Jupiter allowed him to reign among the stars so that Alexander could rule the land. Once again Eiximenis curiously omitted in this discussion the superiority of free will and the divine will and grace.

Although the stars could not affect humans who freely chose good—aided by God's grace—or evil, the planets could influence animate beings and inanimate objects. Military arms, such as swords forged under certain signs, favored the warrior who carried them into battle by adding to his bravery and fortitude. As an example, Eiximenis also referred to a sword Jaume I, conqueror of Valencia, had in his possession, as well as the one that Pere III carried with him (*Dotzè*, ch. 288; 2:246). Eiximenis inferred that he had seen these swords. Besides metals, the moon and celestial bodies influenced the growth of fruits and other foods, according to the Greek and Roman writers Eiximenis cited. On a lighter note, to chase away bothersome flies, Eiximenis recommended fabricating a fly of pure gold with wings of iron on "lo dia de Mercuri" (Torres i Bages, 2:105).

In the *Dotzè*, chapter 287, Eiximenis discussed a thorny issue: if and when a soldier, especially an officer, should retreat from battle when facing an imminent defeat. The Franciscan suggested that the soldier remove himself from the battleground when a perilous comet should appear in the heavens and followed Ptolemy's *Species de cometes*, book 9. He went on to outline a summary description of comets and constellations and their effects on agriculture and on the lives of kings and nobles. In the *Dotzè*, ch. 288, Eiximenis continued by describing stars and comets, their unique colors and effects on produce and on military decisions.

In his curriculum for the sons of princes and kings, Eiximenis also recommended astrology be included, but he stressed that kings of the past invoked the divine before consulting the stars. However, the friar considered political and military decisions to be of utmost importance to the kingdom. Therefore, he recommended for the princes



of his time the study of theology, metaphysics, medicine, and ethics, as well as law, swordmanship, and military tactics. The princes' confidence should be in God, not in the constellations.

Eiximenis also preferred the opinions of theologians and opposed those of philosophers who believed in the effects of the constellations (*Dotzè* 2:2,450). He therefore warned his lay readers who were not trained in theology, philosophy, and canon law not to take up either astrology or alchemy because they may become involved in necromancy: “Car en aquestes dues ciències són gran disposició a caure en aquesta mala art” (1927: 134–36). They will become deceitful, suffer, and die a harsh death that they ironically cannot themselves predict. In the *Llibre dels àngels* (Book IV, ch. 31, f. 83<sup>v</sup>), Eiximenis continued in the same negative vein: to seek knowledge to which only God is privy drives one to the ways of Satan. And having been deceived by the devil, the sinner deceives others.

Throughout the *Dotzè*, Eiximenis wrestled with astrology and alchemy as a profession. In the *Primer*, chs. 60–61, the friar stated that alchemy is only revealed to few people, for example, Solomon, whom God instructed in this science. In the *Dotzè* (2:2,229), Eiximenis lamented that there were no good astrologers in his day as there were in the past. Given the complexity of this science, most preferred the less complicated subjects, such as medicine and law, which provided a steady and lucrative income. Eiximenis used chapters 143 to 147 of the *Dotzè* to expound on these professions. He began with Aristotle (*Politicorum* 2), whom he upheld as an exemplary philosopher because he refused to use his knowledge of astronomy to become wealthy by predicting good and bad harvests. The friar then strung together several short narrations involving astrologers and alchemists in the service of royalty and nobles whose predictions and magic brought about the desired results. Yet Eiximenis remained cautious and reaffirmed his opinion that there were in his time very few learned men in astronomy and alchemy (*Dotzè*, ch. 145 and 2:2,219), perhaps a quip toward the Jewish notables who populated the royal courts of Aragon during the era of the last Catalan kings.

Medieval Christianity, however, was hard pressed to reject astrology. At the birth of Jesus, the Bible tells that the Magi from Persia followed a celestial omen to Bethlehem. However, Eiximenis made only a brief mention of the event in his *Vita Christi*, one of his major works: “Ell fa apareïxer novella estela qui fa venir los tres reis d'Orient

en Betlem a adorar-lo aqui” (Eiximenis 1951: 31; 1496, f. 93<sup>r</sup>). On the other hand, Mary, to whom Eiximenis dedicated several chapters of the *Vita Christi*, is referred to in an astrological context:

eylla nasque en lo XXII grau del signe apellat *virgo* en lo zodiac celestial en lo qual grau e signe estech lavors feta conjuncio de planetes, axi alta que james no estec ne n sera semblant en lo dit signe, per que diu lavors los grans astrolecs de Egipte jutgaran que aquel any verifica (*Vita Christi* ch. 2: *De vita Christi*, fol. 19<sup>r</sup>).

This reference, in which Eiximenis insisted that Mary excelled above all others in purity, is especially interesting because he relied on astrology when it did not conflict with Christian thought or when it did not originate with Arabic astrologers. On another occasion, Eiximenis supported the metaphysical view of Aristotle, Avicena, and Augustine that angels inhabit and propel celestial circles: “mouen a fer lur cors natural e ordinary” (*Angels* book 4, ch. 5). Through their movement they control the twenty-four hour day and the time it takes for a human to walk 36,000 days. This reference is a misinterpretation of Ptolemy, who stated that a star travels the heavens in 36,000 years, while a man can walk around the earth in less than three years. Eiximenis also reminded his readers of the great gift (“virtut”) God, who created the skies, gave to angels.

Several conclusions can be drawn from sections of Eiximenis’ works discussed here. He was familiar, at least in part, with the Latin version, the *Quadripartitum*, of Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*, and, on occasion translated passages from this work into Catalan. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Eiximenis consulted Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, perhaps because this work was too technical for him. The Franciscan appears to accept sections he had cited from the *Quadripartitum*. However, he is cautious regarding Arabian astrologers, although he seems to be drawn to Albumazar’s astrology, as were Christian writers, in part due to its Aristotelian basis, including the doctrine of the fifth essence and the stratification of the different spheres. No matter how attracted Eiximenis became to Arabian science, he quickly lifted his shield, the doctrine of free will, which he was compelled to uphold as a Christian theologian. In addition, the fatalism he found in Arabian juridical astrology would also cause him to turn away (Peláez 433–44). Eiximenis found in Islam a religion that not only approved of magic and astrology, but also encouraged their practice. This is especially evident in the Franciscan’s attack on Islam

and Mohammed's miracles in the *Primer* (Cerulli 41–77). Especially in the chapters on Islam in the *Primer*, Eiximenis discussed aspects of Mohammed's life and miracles as doubtful, deceitful, superstitious, and immoral. Another aspect of Eiximenis' attitude that, to my knowledge, has been overlooked by scholars is the disconcerting presence of astrologers and alchemists whom he discreetly regarded as amateurish. This label, as it existed in Eiximenis' mind, was figuratively placed on Pere III and his sons and on court astronomers and astrologers, including the well-known Hasdai Cresques, whom Joan I had consulted on the veracity of Eiximenis' prediction on the future elimination of all kings except the French monarch. Was Eiximenis envious of the prestige Jewish astronomers and physicians held in the kingdom in which he lived his adult life? Rubió i Lluch (1917–18: 10–18) attests to the trust Joan placed in the prediction of Jewish astronomers, whom he believed to be more knowledgeable on these matters than the Franciscan's and Majorcan navigators.

#### VI. *Astrologers in the Royal Court*

Bartomeu de Tresbéns (1:11) was a physician in the service of Pere III and Joan I from 1361 to 1374. When Pere became convinced of his physician's expertise in astrology and in the astronomical tables, he requested that Tresbéns write a treatise on astrology. The *Tractat d'astrologia*, completed before 1383, combines Greek and Arabian astrology and concentrates on the position of the stars at the moment of a birth. Pere was especially interested in such a treatise not only for himself but also as a means of learning about his friends and enemies.

Of the many astrologers in Pere's court, four stand out. Pere Gilbert and his student Dalmau Ses Planes wrote, at the king's request, works entitled *Taules astronòmiques* and an *Almanac*. Dalmau continued in the royal court from 1364 to 1383 (Gascón 391). Jacob Corsuno, who served Pere as an astrologer, translator, and scribe, penned the *Taules de Barcelona*, while Bellshom Efraïm translated astrological works by Al-Faragani.

VII. *Conclusion*

Astrology and astronomy commanded much interest in the late medieval kingdom of Aragon. Physicians and theologians, even popes, were attracted to studying the constellations. Kings and princes collected numerous books on astrology, astronomy, alchemy, and related subjects, and consulted with both Christian and Jews on these subjects. Also, the horoscope and instruments such as the astrolabe were prized much as telescopes and other scientific instruments are today. Much of this fervor must be credited to Arab and Persian astrologers who had brought Ptolemy to the Latin West, adorned in a different attire to attract leading minds of the Middle Ages.

In the Kingdom of Aragon as in neighboring realms (Castile and France), the pseudoscience astrology had captured the attention of leading intellectuals such as Ramon Llull, Arnau de Vilanova, and Francesc Eiximenis; kings and princes called upon men of learning to examine, translate, and compose books on the planets and constellations. The search now continues in this neglected area of Catalan studies with today's scholars, such as John Lucas, who has brought forth in this book the rich heritage of medieval astrology in the kingdom of Aragon with modern editions of works such as his edition of *Tractat de prenostication*.

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## PREFACE

The *Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens* was “born” sometime in the late fifteenth century in Catalonia. This curious little incunable helps to tell a story. The story is not mine, of course, and others would tell it somewhat differently. Since time immemorial, men and women have gazed at the stars. I need not belabor the reader with the questions they asked, for we ask many of the same ones ourselves.

Our story has to do with astrology, numerology, and—at a more basic level—with the slowly-unfolding mysteries of nature. Feared by many, revered by some, and dismissed as harmless nonsense by more than a few, astrology and numerology are simply tools used to answer some of the questions that necessarily arise from peering too long into the cosmos. Tinged as they are with magic, these timeless arts of prognostication had the power to seduce both temporal and spiritual leaders; but they could also topple governments and ruin reputations. Although the argument must not be taken too far, these early forms of science certainly brought some to an untimely demise.

However the prognostic arts are no less a part of the history of western science than chemistry or biology. They are often dismissed by a post-modern world far too uncomfortable with mystery. Proud of our own bold attempts to crack the codes of nature, we fear to tread with hesitant steps towards the very essence of creation itself. We do so well aware of the consequences, ethical and scientific, that these endeavors entail. Are we so different from our stargazing ancestors in this respect? Certainly our tools are different, better, more precise. But is our own post-modern eclecticism so very different from medieval syncretism? We use what we have available, aware that those who follow may find different answers.

The *Tractat de prenostication* is a handbook, a practical fortune-telling guide, the kind of thing that has survived only rarely in the textual record. Nevertheless, we know from indirect sources that this sort of book was once common currency in medieval and early modern Europe. As such, a study of the *Tractat de prenostication* reveals some of the Catalan source texts on astrology and prognostication, a unique expression of medieval syncretism, the mingling of traditions, and the development of new ideas.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to my parents, John and Judy Lucas, for their most important gifts: language and curiosity. Colleagues at the Institute for Social and International Studies (ISIS) and Portland State University always made work a pleasure. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Julie Resnick and Teresa Taylor at ISIS, who—in addition to their encouragement—generously gave me the release time I needed to write and financial support for some of the many journeys between Spain and the United States.

Other colleagues shared their time and professional advice with me during the research and writing process. Professor Gemma Avenzoa at the Universitat de Barcelona shared her BITECA database and offered advice on codicology. Professor Isidro Rivera at the University of Kansas provided invaluable bibliography on the history of printing. Professor José Chabás read the manuscript and shared important advice on the history of astrology and astronomy. Professor David Viera's preface provides a wonderful framework for the study and fills many lacunae. My friend Laura DelBrugge generously read the first draft.

The following cultural associations provided access to their libraries: University of Kansas, Universitat de Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, and the Ateneu Barcelonés. The staff at the Biblioteca de Catalunya merit a special mention for their kind attention and for providing me with research and study facilities in Barcelona. I am also thankful to the Biblioteca de Catalunya for permission to reprint the *Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens*.

Finally, I am ever thankful to my friend, colleague, and former thesis adviser, Professor Donna Rogers, for her support in so many capacities. Every student should be so fortunate as to work with a scholar of her caliber.

I alone am responsible for any errors and omissions that remain.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

<	is etymologically derived from
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
BITECA	Bibliografia de textos catalans antics
Cast.	Castilian Spanish
Cat.	Catalan
C. L.	Classical Latin
DECat.	Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana
f.	feminine gender
fig.	figuratively
Got.	Gothic
Ital.	Italian
GW	Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke
lit.	literally; literally translated
L. L.	Late Latin
m.	masculine gender
MAN ID	Manuscript Identification Number (used in the BITECA database)
Mod. Cat.	Modern Catalan
n.	noun
neut.	neutral gender
Occ.	Occitan
O. Cat.	Old Catalan
O. Fr.	Old French
prep.	preposition
Prov.	Provençal
v.	verb
V. L.	Vulgar Latin
TEXT ID	Text Identification Number (used in the BITECA database)

*Sapiens homo dominabitur astris.*  
attributed to Ptolemy

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## CHAPTER ONE

### PROGNOSTICATION AT THE DAWN OF THE RENAISSANCE

What progress we are making. In the Middle Ages they would have burned me. Now they are content with burning my books.

*Sigmund Freud*

The *Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens* participates in the genre “occult sciences” as practiced in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. The transition from the medieval to the Renaissance perspective, nowhere easy to define, evolved in Catalonia somewhere between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> This was a time of cultural change, and the cover term “occult sciences” encompasses a vast panorama of magic, astrology, and other forms of prognostication.

To keep the *Tractat de prenostication* in focus, we restrict this study to the tools of prognostication in vogue during the time. The term “prognostication”, as defined here, includes any method of foretelling future events, whether to answer specific questions or provide general life predictions. Because many forms of prognostication make use of the supernatural, the study also considers magic, but only as it impinges on prognostication and the *Tractat* in question.

The concept of “magic” experienced a process of redefinition and vindication during the Renaissance. In the Middle Ages, “magic” is almost synonymous with “diabolical”; it refers primarily to those arts that employ demons to influence the natural world by supernatural means. The patristic writers include astrology with magic and categorically condemn its practice. St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430 AD)

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<sup>1</sup> Nadal and Prats state that the evolution from the medieval to the early modern period in Catalan language and literature took place between 1479 and 1520. For these scholars, the end of civil wars, political stabilization, and the development of printing mark the end of the medieval period. The coronation of Charles I (i.e. Charles V) as Holy Roman Emperor signals the beginning of the early modern period in Catalonia (2: 303).

confesses to his flirtations with astrology as a young man, an art that he later claims true Christians should condemn (*Confessiones* 4.3.4). Compelled to expose astrology as superstition, Augustine devotes a large portion of *De civitate Dei* to refuting its claims to truth. St. Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636 AD) also leaves no room for doubt. In his *Etymologiae*, Isidore defines magic as a demonic art and a plague on Christian society. He states that Christians must condemn it wherever they may encounter it.<sup>2</sup>

In stark contrast, scholars of the Italian Renaissance came very close to conflating magic and natural science so that any attempt to influence the natural world constituted a use of “magic”. That members of the Catholic clergy should articulate this position illustrates how much ground the occult sciences would gain (Garin 1984: 199–201). In the sixteenth century, the Dominican Tommaso Campanella (n. 1568) argued that any act of scientific investigation constituted a use of magic. Among the achievements of magic, Campanella enumerates the printing press and gunpowder.<sup>3</sup> Somewhere between the medieval and the Renaissance concept of magic, we find the Catalan treatise, *Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens*. The text offers one popular system of medieval prognostication unself-consciously packaged in Renaissance trappings. How this text fits into the Catalan material and how Catalonia, in turn, fits into the wider European context is the subject of this chapter.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Isidore’s encyclopedic *Etymologiae* draws extensively on Classical sources and provides an important reference for the state of learning in the Latin Middle Ages. In conclusion to an lengthy passage on *magi*, Isidore observes the work of demons and angels of darkness: “In quibus omnibus ars daemonum est ex quadam pestifera societate hominum et angelorum malorum exorta. Vnde cuncta vitanda sunt a Christiano, et omni penitus execratione repudianda atque damnanda” (*Etymologiae* 8.9.31).

<sup>3</sup> The source is the Italian version of Campanella’s *De Magia*: “Tutto quello che si fa dalli scienziati imitando la natura o aiutandola con l’arte ignota, no solo alla plebe bassa, ma alla comunità degli uomini, si dice opera magica . . . L’invenzione della polvere dell’archibugio e delle stampe fu cosa magica, e così l’uso della calamita . . .” (241–42).

<sup>4</sup> Born at the end of the fifteenth century, the *Tractat de prenostication* helps us view the transition from the medieval to the early modern worldview. As such, our study will focus on the fifteenth century and historical antecedents. For an excellent study of how science continued to develop in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see López Piñero (1979).

### A. *Changing World Views*

The cultural revolution of the Renaissance would have been impossible if the medieval period had been the barren wasteland scholars once imagined. As Garin notes, the first Italian humanists, of rather humble beginnings, self-consciously sought a renovation that began with their contemporaries and applied only to the previous two hundred years. In other words, the early humanists sought a return to the learning of the twelfth century (Garin 1984: 60). The term “Dark Ages” originally applied to the Aristotelian logic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but the notion gathered nationalistic steam and eventually became a powerful cultural myth.

Cuando la inspiración religiosa y un fuerte espíritu de recuperación nacional entran en contacto con una reivindicación de la obra de los clásicos, la polémica cultural, todo hay que decirlo, de orígenes bastante limitados, se transforma en un mito de excepcional fuerza. (Garin 1984: 63)

It was only later and slowly that revisionist historians would impose the concept of a thousand years of darkness (500–1500 AD) known today.

This notion is nowhere truer than in the prognostic and occult sciences, which never vanished entirely during the Middle Ages. Although condemned by the Medieval Church, the occult sciences continued to capture popular imagination from Roman times up to the early modern period, only finally being eclipsed in the Enlightenment. Thorndike notes, for example, that works on geomancy were recopied until the eighteenth century (2: 121). The system of the four bodily humors, tinged with astrological symbolism, played a role in medical science until well into the nineteenth century.

It was traditionally believed that astrology and the prognostic arts disappeared in the Middle Ages because access to primary source materials was limited and repression from the Roman Catholic Church severe. However the human need to understand the natural world and influence the course of events is universal. The arts of prognostication never disappeared during the Middle Ages; they just went underground. Although the Classical texts were missing, astrologers and magicians continued to flourish, largely through oral transmission of their craft (Flint 1990: 12–16).

Flint’s studies of the transmission of the occult sciences (1990; 1991) help us understand the *Tractat de prenostication* because much

of her evidence for the continued practice of prognostic arts in the early Middle Ages comes from Visigothic Spain. We have seen Isidore of Seville's condemnation of the non-Christian magi already (see note 2). Isidore presided over several church councils, and he condemned the *haruspices*, among a long list of other types of magi. In his *Etymologiae*, Isidore defines a *haruspex* as one how "looks to predict which times and days might be suitable for large undertakings" (Flint 1990: 9–11).<sup>5</sup>

Other citations demonstrate that the full panoply of magical arts and sciences continued to function outside the Christian Church throughout the medieval period. Flint demonstrates, for example, that Church authorities were aware of a number of occult sciences and able to speak of them in the present tense (1990: 10). Furthermore, the *Leges visigothorum* contains prohibitions of astrology and magic (1990: 10). Church canons and homilies also demonstrate an awareness and fear of practitioners of the occult sciences. We repeat here one striking example to illustrate the point. Martin de Braga assembled a series of canons that typify church condemnation; the following passage was known in the seventh century:

59. Clerics may not become enchanters or make ligatures, for this is to bind down souls.
71. If anyone brings diviners or lot-casters home, as is the custom of pagans, he is to be cast out as an evildoer, and if anyone takes to magic or performs pagan lustration ceremonies, he is to do penance for five years.
74. No ceremonies or incantations are to be associated with the collection of medicinal herbs save for the Creed or the Lord's Prayer, for God is the creator of all things, and he is the Lord to be worshipped. (Martin de Braga in Flint 1990: 13)

Although we have few details of what the magi did, their existence is documented even before the revival of the textual tradition beginning in the tenth and in full swing by the twelfth century.

The importation of Arabic learning and Arabic translations of Greek and Latin scholarship on a massive scale led to the first revival

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<sup>5</sup> Flint refers to the following passage, also taken from Isidore's the entry on the *magi*: "Haruspices nuncupati, quasi horarum inspectores: dies enim et horas in agendis negotiis operibusque custodiunt, et quid per singula tempora observare debeat homo, intendunt. Hi etiam exta pecudum inspicunt, et ex eis futura praedicunt" (*Etymologiae*: 8.9.17).



of the occult sciences in the twelfth century. The Spanish schools in Toledo and Barcelona translated works on astronomy, astrology, geomancy, and sympathetic magic. If Flint's thesis is correct, however, this first renewal of occult sciences merely brought out what was already festering under the surface. What changes at this point, according to Flint, is the complicity of the Catholic Church (1990: 12).

In the Middle Ages, most theologians believed in the occult sciences, but felt that magic was evil. Medieval scholasticism taught that individuals were subject to Divine law. Humankind's ability to influence its destiny was reduced to choosing a good or evil path. Choosing to obey natural law and accepting one's station in life were cornerstones of the medieval ethic. Divine will, never the stars, determined the outcome either choice would have. Furthermore, a properly contrite and repentant sinner could always see the error of his ways and choose the course of salvation.

The occult arts and sciences threaten the Church in two key respects. The notion that the stars foretell destiny directly contradicts the doctrine of free will. By extension, this fatalistic worldview also does violence to the sacrament of penance and reformation. More important, if destiny is immutable, divine providence and human hope are lost (Flint 1990: 2). Viewed in this light, a mage is dangerous demagogue who threatens established order. The Catholic Church had much reason to fear, for these non-Christian diviners offered a contrary means of understanding, predicting, and therefore controlling the natural world.

At some point, however, the Church realized that terror and repression were not the most effective methods of driving out the magicians. Faced with competing worldviews that were widely held, the Church had to begin a slow process of change or find itself eclipsed by other non-Christian social leaders (Flint 1990: 18). The Church fathers must also have realized that the distinction between the mysteries of the Christian faith and non-Christian magic was often blurry. Non-Christian mages threatened the established order, but the foundations of Christianity itself rested firmly on a belief in the metaphysical. In this light, for example, one might consider the doctrine of transubstantiation as a type of alchemy, and we need not repeat here the importance of astrological observations in the *computus* tradition. Without mathematics and astronomy, the Church could not adjust the ecclesiastical calendar for moveable feasts. Gradually the Church incorporated aspects of magic and the prognostic

sciences that did not threaten orthodox theology. That a change took place is evident; when and how is not so clear.

Flint cites cases from as early as the sixth century in which the clergy began to graft Christian symbols onto the pagan forms of prognostication. For example, one might use passages of the Bible selected at random to decide a future course of action or substitute *paternosters* for magical spells (Flint 1990: 24–25). Some priests continued to practice Christian forms of magic throughout the early medieval period. The use of random Biblical passages to foretell the future or the casting of a die after praying to God for an answer, known as *sortes sanctorum*, was perhaps the most common form of prognostication (Flint 1991: 96–97).

Isidore enumerated the practice among the types of magic Christians should avoid.<sup>6</sup> Flint's citations of Martin de Braga demonstrate that the Christian Church by no means accepted the *sortes* as orthodox. Nevertheless, theologians probably considered Christian magic a lesser evil and were willing to tolerate it as long as it didn't interfere with the doctrines of free will and divine providence (Thorndike 1: 631–32). Flint makes her case with the “admirable trenchancy” she ascribes to her detractors. Non-Christian forms of divination survived because they found some legitimate expression in the Christian church. However the argument must not be taken too far. Although the leadership may have overlooked Christian forms of magic, the Medieval Church was not ready in the sixth century to co-opt the occult sciences altogether.

Despite Christian opposition, we must remember that the casting of lots for religious purposes was accepted Hebrew practice. In the Old Testament, priests consulted God through lots. For example we find, “The lot is cast into the lap, but the decision is wholly from the Lord” (Prov. 16.33 RSV). A description of priestly vestments mentions the breastplate of judgment, a pouch containing the sacred lots *Urim* and *Thummim* (Exod. 28.15–30). Neither was the practice unknown in the New Testament. For example we find the apostles casting lots to choose a successor for Judas (Acts 1.26). The Christian fathers were not, however, wholly in favor of encouraging such practices among their faithful.

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<sup>6</sup> “Sortilegi sunt qui sub nomine fictae religionis per quasdam, quas **sanctorum sortes** vocant, divinationis scientiam profitentur, aut quarumcumque scripturarum inspectione futura promittunt [emphasis mine]” (*Etymologiae* 8.9.28).

Acceptance of Christian forms of prognostication and magic in the Middle Ages would have to wait at least until the thirteenth century. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) addressed the problem of the *sortes sanctorum* in the *Summa contra gentiles* and *Summa theologiae*. Aquinas shows some sensitivity to the emerging view that Christian magic could, in rare cases, be useful. Reflecting on the passage from Acts in which the apostles used lots, Aquinas observes that they only resorted to lots after fervent prayer and devotion. Aquinas hastens to warn that the practice is dangerous and should only be employed in cases of absolute necessity (*Summa theologiae* 2.2.95, 8). Attempting to know the mind of God bordered on the sin of *vanitas*, and the use of lots could also attract demons. St. Thomas also firmly rejected non-Christian magic and clearly distinguished magic and lot casting from science.<sup>7</sup> Like Aquinas, John of Salisbury (c. 1115–80) accepted some use of Christian symbols in medical intervention, but he also rejected any non-Christian magic, the interpretation of dreams, and other forms of divination.

As Sezneck reminds us, Cecco d'Ascoli was burned at the stake in 1327 for calculating Christ's birth by means of the stars (57). Furthermore, precursors to the humanists such as Petrarch (1304–74) maintained orthodox opposition to astrology. Thorndike's survey of experimental science nonetheless reveals a restraint in the Church's pursuit of astrology and other sciences:

Hitherto in our survey of medieval learning, more particularly of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we have found little or no evidence in support of the old view, or rather assumption, that every medieval scientist was persecuted by the church. (2: 949)

In this regard, Cecco d'Ascoli is an isolated case. Although there may not have been many executions, the Catholic Church continued to scrutinize astrological and other scientific writings for signs of heresy.

Many astrologers needed powerful royal families to keep them out of trouble with the Holy Office. The Catalan scholar, Arnau de Vilanova (c. 1238–1311), provides such a case. Vilanova served as

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<sup>7</sup> In the *Summa theologiae*, Aquinas condemns most forms of divination as the work of demons. Because of their use in the Bible, Aquinas's position on the divine lots is not entirely consistent with his view on other forms of divination (2.2.95). Consult Thorndike's discussion of the *sortes sanctorum*, magic, and science in the Thomistic corpus for a fuller treatment of the subject (2: 593–615).

physician to both popes and kings. His writings included the *Libellus de improbatione maleficiorum*, a treatise on how to counteract sympathetic magic, and a work on the *Tetragrammaton*, influenced by Jewish Cabbala. Because of his writings, Vilanova's orthodoxy was called into question more than once. The Inquisition banned his books officially, and it was only self-abnegation and success in treating Pope Boniface VIII's gall stone that got him removed from the Inquisition's black list (Thorndike 2: 844–45).

Neither did the Inquisition cease to exist in the Renaissance. Some forms of magic earned acceptance as legitimate science, and the Catholic Church began to show more tolerance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However we find several cases of imprisonment and a few notable executions as late as the seventeenth century, *pace* Thorndike. The philosophers who laid the foundations of Renaissance astrological magic were trained as Catholic clergy, and the Church later pursued many of them for their unorthodox views.

Among those who fell from grace, we find such outstanding intellectual figures as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94). The Inquisition chased Pico all over southern Europe on suspicion of heresy, only to absolve him the year before his death. Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639), a Dominican scholar, wrote extensively about scientific magic, and those views landed him in prison. Another Dominican, Giordano Bruno (1548?–1600), was burned at the stake for unorthodox views bordering on polytheism. Nevertheless, experimentation into astrology and astrological magic proceeded steadily during the Renaissance and provided the framework for early modern science.

Before examining the vindication of the occult sciences, a word of clarification is in order. It was once thought that the terms *astrologia* and *astronomia* were synonymous in the early Middle Ages. We already met St. Isidore, who included all manner of supernatural practitioners under the term *magi*. The lines of division were indeed fluid, and many authors confuse the terms. However other medieval writers show a higher degree of sensitivity to the difference between these two terms than scholars once thought. St. Isidore himself is not consistent, but in some passages he defines *astrologia* and *astronomia* much as we would today.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Flint cites Fontaine (1953) as the first to make this observation. However Thorndike noted Isidore's definitions of astrology and astronomy in 1923 (1: 632).

In the *Etymologiae*, Isidore uses the term *mathesis* for astrology, and in one passage he condemns the science outright. He states that, blinded by the beauty of the stars, some have mistakenly concluded that they can predict the future from calculations based on the movement of the planets. According to Isidore, both Christian and pagan scholars condemned such superstition.<sup>9</sup> However in other passages, Isidore makes a subtle distinction between the terms *astronomy* and *astrology*.

Isidore notes that astronomy deals only with the movement of the heavenly bodies. By contrast, astrology is partly natural (i.e. scientific) and partly superstitious. It is a natural science when it observes the constellations and their position in the heavens, and it is damnable superstition when it attempts to predict the nature of men's souls and their destinies.<sup>10</sup> Isidore is not the first to make such a distinction; his use of the term *mathesis* to refer to astrology comes from much older astrological sources.

Julius Firmicus Maternus composed his *Mathesis* (c. 354) on the subject, and the treatise remains one of the few complete ancient texts on astrology. Although the work is not cited until the twelfth century, Isidore obliquely refers to it. According to Tester, the title derives from the Greek μάθησις 'learning', which originally referred to the sciences of the quadrivium, particularly mathematics (134). Later the term applies strictly to astrology (in both senses). By the twelfth century, scholars had established a distinction between *mathēsis*, with a long mid vowel and *máthēsis* with a short vowel. The first represents true learning; the second is infused with superstition. We

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<sup>9</sup> The passage glossed follows: "Sed nonnulli siderum pulcritudine et claritate perfecti in lapsus stellarum caecatis mentibus conruerunt, ita ut per subputationes noxias, quae *mathesis* dicitur, eventus rerum praescribere posse conentur: quos non solum Christianae religionis doctores, sed etiam gentilium Plato, Aristoteles, atque alii rerum veritate conmoti concordi sententia damnauerunt, dicentes confusionem rerum potius de tali persuasione generari [emphasis mine]" (*Etymologiae* 3.71.39).

<sup>10</sup> Compare the following passage to Isidore's blanket condemnation cited in notes 2 and 4: "1. Inter Astronomiam autem et Astrologiam aliquid differt. Nam Astronomia caeli conversionem, ortus, obitus motusque siderum continet, vel qua ex causa ita vocentur. **Astrologia vero partim naturalis, partim superstitiosa est.** 2. Naturalis, dum exequitur solis et lunae cursus, vel stellarum certas temporum stationes. Superstitiosa vero est illa quam mathematici sequuntur, qui in stellis auguriantur, quique etiam duodecim caeli signa per singula animae vel corporis membra disponunt, siderumque cursu nativitates hominum et mores praedicare conantur [emphasis mine]" (*Etymologiae* 3.27.1–2).

may trace this distinction to John of Salisbury in the twelfth century (Tester 134).<sup>11</sup>

The two forms of *mathesis* are similar to the distinction between astrology and astronomy recognized today. Astronomy represents the mathematical and theoretical branch of the science. Astrology, in its different forms, is an applied science used to make general or specific life predictions. We will meet this distinction again when we examine judicial and natal astrology in the next chapter. This evidence suggests that, at least in some respects, medieval scholars were aware that scientific astrology was a useful activity and did not necessarily involve heretical superstition.

Aquinas was bold enough to tread a bit farther in his acceptance of astrology. He licenses the science as a means of observation of the natural world to search for causes and effects. Aquinas even goes so far as to assert that the stars do have some effect on the natural world. Given humankind's earthly passions and its connection to the physical world, it seems logical to assume that men and women are also subject to astral influences. Careful to avoid heresy, Aquinas hastens to note that free will allows humankind to avoid following its baser desires:

The majority of men follow their passions, which are movements of the sensitive appetite, in which movements of the heavenly bodies can co-operate; but few are wise enough to resist these passions. Consequently astrologers are able to foretell the truth in the majority of cases, especially in a general way. But not in particular cases; for nothing prevents man resisting his passions by his free-will. Wherefore the astrologers themselves are wont to say that "the wise man is stronger than the stars . . ." (*Summa theologiae* 1.115.4)<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> John of Salisbury (*floruit* twelfth century). He defines the two reflexes of *mathesis* in the *Policraticus*, completed in 1159. His understanding of magic is largely derived from Isidore of Seville. Although he condemns most superstition, he accepts Christian miracles and believes the use of the Lord's Prayer is helpful in gathering medicinal herbs (Thorndike 2: 158–60).

<sup>12</sup> Trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Original text: "Ad tertium dicendum quod plures hominum sequuntur passiones, quae sunt motus sensitivi appetitus, ad quas cooperari possunt corpora caelestia, pauci autem sunt sapientes, qui huiusmodi passionibus resistant. Et ideo astrologi ut in pluribus vera possunt praedicere, et maxime in communi. Non autem in speciali, quia nihil prohibet aliquem hominem per liberum arbitrium passionibus resistere. Unde et ipsi astrologi dicunt quod 'sapiens homo dominatur astris', in quantum scilicet dominatur suis passionibus" (*Summa theologiae* 1.115.4).

This position is about as far as one can go without crossing the line on astrological determinism, and it represents an enormous leap forward from the more conservative positions of Augustine and Isidore. According to Aquinas, without the will (often rendered in Latin as *arbitrium* or choice) there can be no hope that humankind might redeem itself. Kenny elaborates on the will in St. Thomas's system:

On the one hand, it is a capacity for certain kinds of wanting (for long-term and universal goals that only humans can have, such as the discovery of scientific truth or the pursuit of riches). On the other hand, it is a capacity for action of a certain kind, namely free and voluntary action; only those who have free will are capable of free action. (81)

Renaissance scholars will follow Aquinas to the letter on this point, always careful to respect the freedom of individual choice.

So far, we have considered the most recent scholarship on the transmission of the occult sciences through the Middle Ages and the reception they find in the Roman Catholic Church. Most of the research centers specifically on astrology and, by extension, on magic. We also saw that “scientific” astrology (i.e. *mathēsis*) was acceptable to the medieval Christian Church in limited doses and whenever it did not conflict with theological doctrine. What of the other occult sciences: “bad astrology” (i.e. *máthēsis*), astro-numerology, geomancy, lot casting, etc.?

When and if the medieval Church adopted the other occult sciences—as Flint seems to suggest—is a question that requires much more philological spadework. The Church may have been willing to overlook some forms of Christian magic as we observed, but none of the medieval sources equate magic with science as we find in the Renaissance. Neither does magic or prognostic astrology appear in the school curricula. Grant surveyed the educational programs of medieval universities and cathedral schools.<sup>13</sup> He observed that astrology was taught only as a branch of astronomy and primarily in the medical faculties. Of other forms of prognostication he notes:

Whatever their significance for the history of science, magic, astrology (especially as it pertained to human fate and fortune), alchemy, and other occult sciences were not officially taught in the natural philosophy

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<sup>13</sup> Grant (1996) is a significantly revised and expanded version of his original analysis (1974).

curriculum of medieval universities, although this tells us little about the extent to which individual masters and students may have pursued these activities privately. (1996: 137)

In Barcelona, the textual record begins in the sixteenth century, but it seems to corroborate Grant's findings for earlier periods. In 1559, the charter for the Estudi General stipulates that mathematics might be taught under arts and letters, time permitting. There was a chair for mathematics at least from 1576; and in 1598 the record indicates that some astronomical material was included in mathematical studies. The textual record never mentions prognostic astrology (Peña Díaz 492).

The evidence presented so far admits some preliminary conclusions. The various genres of *prognostica* flourished in the Middle Ages not only because they were illicit, and so intriguing. Neither were the prognostic arts merely subversive tools for the fringe elements of society, for they had many practical applications. Prognostication helped kings predict future events, doctors choose the propitious moment for medical intervention, generals determine the outcome of a battle, and farmers obtain the best crop yield. As such, they were a continuation of pre-Christian forms of divination and magic, and these practices survived outside the Church in the Middle Ages. As Flint observes, the prognostic arts may have survived because they were practiced outside the Church—that is underground and largely out of its reach (1990: 24).

The occult sciences offered an alternative manner for humankind to control its fate. The early Christian Church was unrelenting in its pursuit of all forms of science that threatened the established order. At some point, the seeds of tolerance began to sprout. The Church became less hostile to the more scientific forms of astrology, realizing it had much to gain by incorporating it into official doctrines. By adopting some early pagan forms of magic and divination, such as the *sortes sanctorum*, the Catholic Church cut the grass from beneath the feet of these alternative spiritual leaders. In so doing, the Catholic Church kept much of this magic alive. The soil would remain ever fertile, and Renaissance scholars would till the fields intensely during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The humanistic project in the Italian Renaissance jettisoned Aristotelianism and Thomism in favor of Neoplatonism and a reverence for old classics newly discovered. This *renovatio* of arts and letters brought with it a revalorization of prognostic and occult sciences as



expressed in classical sources. The discovery of the Neoplatonic and Hermetic corpus provided a mine, rich with magical and astrological references. Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) made these Greek writings accessible in Latin and began to explore connections between Platonism and Christianity in *Theologica platonica*, which he published in 1482.

Around the same time, the idea of experimentation upon the natural world also became popular. Neoplatonism and scientific experimentation brought science and magic together as complementary forces. A brief mention of both is necessary to understand the intellectual climate in which the *Tractat de prenostication* was born. These two trends redeemed the practitioner of occult science, the mage: “magus significat hominem sapientem cum virtute agendi” (Bruno cit. in Garin 1981: 200–01). The *Tractat* reminds us of the pseudo-Ptolemaic adage that the wise man will rule the stars (fol. 12<sup>r</sup>).

During the fifteenth century, around the time the *Tractat de prenostication* was published, Italian scholars, such as Marsilio Ficino, were crafting Neoplatonic treatises on the magic arts. In Ficino’s works, one detects a concern to separate “true” magic from “false” superstition. Ficino was one of magic’s most ardent spokespersons. However even Ficino wavered on some aspects of magic. In the *Disputatio contra iudicium astrologorum* (1477), Ficino partially retracted the views of his youth, although many scholars take the third book of his *De vita* (1489), in which he defends astrology, as Ficino’s final word on the matter.

Ficino is one of the most important authors because his works embody the philosophical revolutions that were taking place in the fifteenth century. In *De vita*, one finds Neoplatonic realism fused with scientific experimentation. When Ficino describes medical procedures and other scientific applications of astrology, he anticipates Campanella and Bacon (Kaske and Clark in Ficino 1989: 58). For example, Ficino writes at length on the subject of astrological talismans.

An astrological talisman is a piece of metal or stone chosen for its ability to attract the influences of a specific planet. The mage inscribes words, prayers, and other symbols related to one of the planets upon the talisman to strengthen the effect. In Ficino, the word is the thing, for any operation performed upon a talisman is by extension applied to the star and *vice versa* (Kaske and Clark in Ficino 1989: 38). For Ficino, it is the sympathy between the material used in constructing the talisman and the planet in question that produces the effect, not any magical words or symbols:

... [T]he making of figures has no efficacy except in cases where it is similar in material and effect to some star from which the maker wants to receive this effect; and, in addition, where the material itself is already from the beginning of almost such a quality as you desire to render it through the figure.<sup>14</sup>

The significance of this doctrine to our *Tractat de prenostication* lies in its application to numbers. Although Ficino does not dwell upon the matter, he suggests that other qualities (besides the four elements) such as colors, numbers, figures, etc. are also powerful ways to obtain celestial influence. To avoid suspicion of unorthodoxy, Ficino resorts to hedges like *ut putant* ‘so they think’.<sup>15</sup>

Ficino believes astrological magic is most acceptable for medical purposes. Thus magic gets smuggled into the universities dressed in scientific trappings. Ficino does not deal with the subject; however other philosophers treat natal astrology as a form of science. Kieckhefer notes cases in which Renaissance scientists cast horoscopes and tested their validity by observing the subjects over time (129). This contrasts with the Aristotelian view of science, popular in the Middle Ages, which favored enumeration and categorization of concepts over actual experimentation. The interest in experimentation is necessary before magic can be vindicated:

Thus, the Renaissance saw no contradiction between astrology and science; rather, the dominion of the heavenly bodies over all earthly things was viewed by some as the natural law par excellence, the law which assures the regularity of phenomena. (Seznec 59)

When it first came into vogue, the experimental method encompassed both physical and the occult sciences. The connection between the natural world and humankind had previously been a one-way street. Humankind merely experienced the power of the stars or divine will. However the Latin term *experior*, like its Romance descen-

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<sup>14</sup> Kaske and Clark’s translation of: “. . . ut fabrica figurarum non alibi efficaciam habeat, quam ubi materia cum stella congruit et effectu, a qua hunc faber exoptat accipere; ac praeterea ubi haec ipsa materia quasi iam talis est ab initio, qualem affectas reddere per figuram” (*De vita* 3.17.104–109).

<sup>15</sup> “Qualitates autem quae minus elementares materialesve sunt, scilicet lumina, id est colores, numeros quoque similiter et figuras ad talia forsitan minus posse, sed ad coelestia munera (ut putant) valere permultum . . . Ideoque tum species naturalium certis figuris, tum motus et generationes et mutationes certis numeris astringuntur” (*De vita* 3.17.4–5; 3.17.22–24).

dants, embodied both the active “to experiment upon” and the passive “to experience”. Not content to passively experience the effects of the stars, the Renaissance mage inverted the lines of influence. Through experimentation, the mage could control the stars and shape his destiny.

The *Tractat de prenostication* distills this idea into the proverb: “lo home savi senyoragarà los astres” (fol. 12<sup>r</sup>). Often found in Latin as “homo sapiens dominabitur astris,” the proverb illustrates the power of humankind to assert its will over the natural world, a position that cannot possibly conflict with Church doctrine (Tester 176–177; Coopland 175–177). Once the link between magic and natural science was forged, Renaissance theologians were able to drive the demons out of magic or simply co-opt them. The Neoplatonists, such as Ficino, used the Greek spelling *daemon* to indicate a philosophically neutral use of the term. In Neoplatonic philosophy, a daemon is any lesser spiritual force and is often best translated as “genius” or, in some cases, “angel”. This distinguishes Neoplatonic *daemons* from the *demons* involved in black magic.

Most Renaissance scholars privileged the distinction between good and bad magic just as Isidore had distinguished between good and bad astrology. Schumaker discerns two types of acceptable magic: natural magic and spiritual magic. Natural magic, also called white magic, offers an appropriate means of scrutinizing the world for signs from God and manipulating them to one’s advantage. It makes no appeal to spiritual forces, amulets, or incantations; rather it seeks magical results from the properties of simples (such as roots, herbs, metals, etc.) or some combination thereof. Natural magic in this sense prefigures natural science. At the other extreme, we find acceptable forms of spiritual magic, which appeals to divine intervention for assistance: signs, numbers, astrological figures, etc. (Schumaker 108–9). As we observed, Ficino accepted the properties of the simples although he was skeptical about the efficacy of the figures themselves.

The astro-numerological system contained in the first section of the *Tractat de prenostication* leans towards the spiritual or ceremonial end of this continuum. The prevalence for magical numbers is certainly a feature of ceremonial magic, as are the references to the saints and their intervention in the horoscopes. However the second section of our Catalan treatise anticipates the scientific vein of magic. The insistence in part two that astrology is theologically sound rests on the scientific principle that inferior things are subject to superior

things. In this sense, God directs the stars, which transmit His influences to earthly beings. Schumaker traces this principle back to Neoplatonic philosophy, and it would become the touchstone of magical treatises such as Campanella's *De Magia* (1489) and Della Porta's *Magiae naturalis libri viginti* (1589) (109–12).

The other type of ceremonial magic we find, known as black magic, invokes the power of demons or pagan gods. This practice was still—officially at least—anathema (Garin 1981: 206). In the Latin manuscripts of Campanella's *De magia*, a short chapter on black magic explains that the use of amulets or ceremonies to invoke the power of demons should never be taught. Campanella notes that demonic magic is not a part of true science and should be eradicated, lest it lead the naïve astray.<sup>16</sup> Even here, however, Campanella demonstrates some rhetorical if not critical distance with such phrases as “we feel” and “in our opinion”. St. Augustine and St. Isidore were more resolute in the matter. Thus did the Renaissance scholars make the magic arts, particularly prognostication, part of acceptable science. However they perpetuated the medieval worldview in two ways. The Renaissance scholars still believed in the power of demons and cautioned against their use in magic.

These broad textual outlines incorporate the most recent scholarship on the matter and, as such, provide a context for the *Tractat de prenostication*, which was printed at the end of the fifteenth century. The method of prognostication underlying the *Tractat* belongs among the most superstitious forms of astrological magic available. The system is traceable into the early Middle Ages, although the simple numerological symbolism represents a continuation of pre-Roman forms of prognostication. Certain features of the text, which we will examine in the next chapter, demonstrate the Arabic influence

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<sup>16</sup> Campanella's vindication of magic has its limits. Compare his passage on demonic magic to St. Isidore's view: “Magiam Diabolicam [sic] non esse docendam sentimus. Est enim palam aemulatrix divinae et cultum illius imitatur; sed revera, in naturali, suas operationes fundant daemones. At saepe iubent constellationes observare et caeremonias: quae ad rem non conferunt, sed ut sibi cultum arroget, aut quia eo tempore novit rem perfici iuvante coelo, quod ipse per se non potest; aut qui divinissimas Dei creaturas operibus suis sordidis in nostra opinione labefactare studet, et impietatem suggerere passim et scientiarum abominationem, ut ignorantia crescente sapientiam ab hominibus eradicet, et suas falsitates persuadeat . . .” (*De Magia*, 241). This chapter appears only in the Latin versions of *De magia*, and the author may have added it deliberately as an apology.

that was particularly important in the Iberian Peninsula after the eleventh century.

The apology in the second section of the *Tractat* provides a justification for astrology and extends this to the prognostic apparatus in the first section. In so doing, the *Tractat* represents the Renaissance worldview outlined here. Although the text never uses the word “magic” *per se*, it refers to several forms of talismanic magic and advises that it may be useful to help avert negative omens in the stars. Furthermore, the treatise subverts patristic sources that condemn superstition and uses them to provide theological justification for its practice. In this manner, the *Tractat de prenostication* is a powerful textual witness to the non-Christian forms of future-telling and Christian attempts to reframe them at the dawn of the Renaissance.

### B. *The Catalan Context*

The *Tractat de prenostication* is one of few Catalan incunables on the subject of prognostication. It is the only witness of astro-numerological prognostication in the Iberian Peninsula before 1500.<sup>17</sup> What survives in the textual record is always partially a product of chance. In the case of Catalonia, however, four factors condition the production of scientific and prognostic literature in the fifteenth century. A general decline in scientific production is the result of external political and economic conditions. Texts on prognostication like the *Tractat* are simple in style and of a popular character. This sort of text does not survive well because later generations did not value this form of prognostication. As Peña Díaz observes, popular texts

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<sup>17</sup> Some readers may wonder whether Arnau de Vilanova was a precursor for the *Tractat*. Vilanova studied Hebrew and Arabic, producing a work on the names of God, the *Tetragrammaton*, in the fourteenth century. Arnau was familiar with Jewish Cabbala and other forms of prognostication, which infuse his theological writings. However, Vilanova’s condemnation of magic in the *Libellus de improbatione maleficiorum* follows the patristic and medieval tradition to the letter. He wavers on the Christian use of magic. In *De parte operativa*, Vilanova contends that astrology is a dangerous form of magic, but he does accept the influence of the stars on humankind (Thorndike 2: 850–61). Our *Tractat* emerges from different and independent textual traditions, largely Arabic (see chapter 3, section E) and remains the only practical prognostic device extant. Nevertheless, in his understanding of the experimental method as applied to medicine and his tentative acceptance of Christian magic, Vilanova can be seen as an important precursor for experimental and magic sciences in Catalonia.

are often omitted from wills and other documents that might record their possession (501–02). The influence of Renaissance humanism, present with the first translation of Petrarch in 1388, arrives late and never fully blossoms on the Catalan mainland. Finally, we observe a dependence on Jewish and Arabic scholarship in most Catalan scientific production of the period.

The court of Pere III (1335–1387) represents a period of prosperity in Catalan commerce, arts, and letters. At this time, Catalan astronomy ranked among the best in the Iberian Peninsula. The first autochthonous works date from the fourteenth century, although Catalan science still relied heavily on Arabic translations (Vernet 1989: 203). Much of the Catalan production served the blossoming maritime trade and exploration industry. The Balearic Islands were home to several notable maritime cartographers. Angelino Dulcert produced the first dated maritime atlas in Mallorca (1339). Another important atlas (1375) is attributed to Abraham Cresques, a Mallorcan Jew. Guillem Soler's atlases (c. 1389 and 1385) also deserve a mention (Samsó 1989: 195–96). Under Pere III, Catalan-Aragonese mathematics, science, and astronomy slowly eclipsed Castilian science. With the death of Alfonso X in 1284, Castilian science fell into its own decline.

Ramón Llull (c. 1233–1315) is the most outstanding Catalan from the fourteenth century, and his works touch upon virtually all aspects of literary and scientific production. He is most famous for his “art”, a mathematical device that generates philosophical arguments, which Llull developed to aid missionaries in their evangelical work. The Illuminated Doctor, as he was known after a visionary experience, also applied his art to medicine. His medical machine made use of the four humors and stock physiognomy from the Greek and Arabic traditions. By turning the wheels to the proper symptoms, one could compute a simple diagnosis and select appropriate remedies. Llull also made important discoveries in navigation and astronomy; he may have been the first in the Iberian Peninsula to discuss how to use the nocturnolabe to navigate at night (Riera i Tuèbols 67–69).

Vernet cautions, however, that Catalan science of the period was still in its infancy. He notes that the astronomical tables Pere III had commissioned from Gilbert and Çes Planes in 1360 were less successful than the Alfonsine tables, even though they were translated into Latin and Hebrew. The authors introduced too many simplifications, thereby rendering their tables virtually useless (1998:

79–80). Vernet also observes that, although Ramon Llull was clearly an outstanding intellectual, he was also a bit of a dilettante and did not necessarily demonstrate true mastery over many of the subjects he treated in his lifetime (1998: 80–81).

Although much of the scientific research into astronomy and astrology is practical in nature, some works began to show sensitivity to prognostication and alchemy in the court of Pere III. Under the reign of his son Joan I (1387–1396), astronomical work yielded to a growing interest in popular astrology (Vela Palomares 1997: 186). We have already met Arnau de Vilanova, who conducted experiments on chemistry and alchemy. His flirtations with astrology got him into trouble with the Inquisition. Unlike Vilanova, Bartomeu de Tresbéns and other court astrologers managed to avoid suspicion of heresy.

Tresbéns wrote the *Tractat d'astrologia*, which explains the fundamentals of astronomy and includes a long treatise on judicial astrology. Tresbéns worked as court physician to Pere III (1361–74). Although his work predates the Renaissance, his acceptance of astrology as long as it does not impede free will makes him a precursor to later works on the topic. His *Tractat d'astrologia* follows the Alfonsine *El libro conplido de los iudizios de las estrellas*, itself a translation of the original by Alī ibn abī Riḡāl (Alī Abenragel) (Vernet 1989: 80). The work is, therefore, a testament to the continuing influence of Arabic astrology with its complex division of the zodiac into smaller and smaller parts and its use of the lots (Vernet and Romano in Tresbéns 11).<sup>18</sup>

The sixteenth century is traditionally known as the *decadència* in Catalan; however the antecedents are present at the opening of the fifteenth century. In 1410, Martí I of Aragon died without naming a successor, setting off a two-year dynastic conflict. With the Compromise of Casp in 1412, the Catalan-Aragonese Crown came under the Castilian Trastámara dynasty, marking the beginning of slow and steady decline. Ferran III of Aragon and Isabelle of Castile married in 1469, unifying the two largest peninsular monarchies. Catalan influence in political affairs waned markedly afterwards, and Castilian eventually replaced Catalan as the language of the court.

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<sup>18</sup> The term “lot”, in this sense, refers to a specific point plotted onto an astrological chart with the aid of a complex mathematical formula. The effect of the lots depended upon which house of the zodiac they landed in. One of the most important, the “lot of fortune”, was widely used in Western European astrology.

The early printers found it profitable to publish in Castilian because they could sell their books more easily outside of Catalonia or trade them for works that they were not able, usually for financial reasons, to publish themselves. However Castilian was not the only language competing with Catalan. Nobles and clergy had acquired a taste for books in Italian and Latin. Peña Díaz found that Latin was the predominant language of publication in Barcelona throughout the sixteenth century, except for the period from 1530–1559, when Catalan overshadowed the Latin classics (70). Nevertheless Castilian made slow but steady inroads in the Catalan publishing industry.

Catalonia also was slow to recover from the devastating effects of the plague, evident throughout Europe, and a bloody civil war under Joan II (1463–1472). As a result of that war, the King of Aragon lost the counties of Rosselló and Cerdanya to France (1475), regions that are still known as *Catalunya Nord* to nationalists today. War and disease took their toll on the population; by some estimates, the Principality was home to some 500,000 inhabitants in 1300 and only 225,000 in 1497 (Riera i Truèbols 83). Against this generally negative backdrop and despite evidence of decline, Renaissance humanism began to flourish.

The fifteenth century witnessed the last flowering of Catalan letters. Bernat Metge translated Petrarch's *Griseldis* (1388), marking the first influences of Italian humanism in Catalan letters. With *Tirant lo Blanc* and *Curial e Güelfa*, Catalan romance foreshadowed the development of the modern novel. The effects of humanism were slow to bear fruit, however, and not fully manifest in the Catalan language until the end of the fifteenth century (Nadal i Prats 2: 392; Rubió i Balaguer 1964: 18–19). The effects of humanism are most notable in the Catalan court at Naples.

Once crowned, Ferran I undertook to extend the Catalan Empire in the Mediterranean. Although he ruthlessly brought Sicily under control, Ferran never lived to complete the conquest of Naples. Alfons I “the Magnanimous” completed the project in 1442, and he never returned to his possessions on the Iberian Peninsula. The influences of Italian humanism are much deeper on the literature that emerged from his court, but scholars do not agree on the degree to which this influence is felt in peninsular Catalan literature (Nadal and Prats 2: 55–56). In terms of prognostic material, however, the humanistic influences are not as evident in Catalan literature of the mainland.

The revalorization of magic, so much a part of the Italian



Renaissance, is largely missing in the Catalan literary tradition. There are no autochthonous treatises on natural magic or prognostication to rival Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, or Campanella. Culturally, there is evidence for growing interest in and acceptance of the magic arts, particularly alchemy, at a popular level. The proliferation of literature on astrological magic is one example of this influence. Girolamo Torrella<sup>19</sup> published a treatise on astrological images in Valencia (1496) with a dedication to Ferran II (1452–1516), King of Aragon.

Torrella studied in Montpellier and in Italy. He described himself as a physician to the queen of Naples. Torrella planned to repudiate Pico della Mirandola for his critique of astrology, although he appears never to have finished the project. Sometimes Torrella seems critical of astrological images, but Thorndike notes a “sneaking preference” for them (4: 574–75). Such images belong to talismanic magic that Ficino studied in his *De Vita*. In section two of our *Tractat de prenostication*, we are told that images and signs may help avert the negative influences of the stars, a reference to this same tradition.

Miracle literature, such as the *Viatge d'en Ramón Perellós al purgatorio de San Patrici*, is another popular expression of the interest in Christian forms of magic. The *Viatge*, a hagiographic work set in type in 1486, is bound together with other religious visionary and pious works. Similarities in the typeface and composition suggest that the same printer may have published the *Tractat de prenostication* (See chapter 3, section E). The *Viatge d'en Ramón Perellós* is a Catalan expression of the legend of Saint Patrick. Saint Patrick obtained permission from God to create a hole in the desert leading directly to purgatory so non-believers could experience the truth of religious doctrine. The protagonist in the Catalan version was a knight from Rosselló who served under Joan I and may have undertaken such a quest (Miquel y Planas 1917, 1: 232).

Another popular tradition developed in the fifteenth century, that of the *lunaris* and almanacs. Dealing neither with astrology nor magic *per se*, these popular works bring together bits and pieces of both genres. The lunar calendar was used, in the *computus* tradition, to set the dates of moveable feasts and mark syzygies, new and full moons. Often these lunar charts are incorporated into larger almanacs, replete with popular wisdom. The *lunaris* were born as scientific texts but

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<sup>19</sup> Known as Gironi or Geroni in Catalan and Girolamo in Italian.

developed into popular or folkloric collections with the incorporation of practical advice and illustrative woodcuts (Rubió i Balaguer 1993: 430). They also bear witness to the influence of Arabic science in the Peninsula (Samsó 1981).

Easy to cobble together from a variety of extant sources, these popular books were an important source of income for the early printers and booksellers in Barcelona. Peña Díaz studied the possession of *lunaris* in the city by examining wills and other inventories. He found evidence that most of the early Catalan booksellers traded in them and that they increased in popularity until about the end of the sixteenth century (501). Until 1550, the clergy and nobles possessed approximately 32.5% each of the *lunaris* registered. By 1600, the clergy and the artisans accounted for 28,5% each of the *lunaris* recorded (Peña Díaz 502).

The most important of these was Granollach's *Lunari*, first printed in 1485 (Chabás and Roca 124). Granollach's tables of lunar data rank among the top ten best sellers of astrological literature, with over forty-two incunable editions (Chabás and Roca 125). Li incorporated Granollach's lunar charts into his larger *Reportorio de los tiempos*, recently edited by Laura Delbrugge (1996; 1999). Most scholars assume Li was Aragonese; however a possible 1488 version of the *Reportorio* in Catalan may suggest a Catalan origin for Li as well (Delbrugge in Li 1999: 18).

Although it was probably never published, a fragmentary astrological miscellany preserved in Andorra constitutes one of the first documented attempts to summarize astrological knowledge in Catalan. A paleographic analysis of the manuscript, dubbed *Tencar*, reveals the humanistic influence on writing, which is first evident in the court of Pere III. This fact helps scholars to date the work around 1430–1440 (Vela Palomares 1997: 28). A look at contents and probable source materials helps understand the range of texts available at the time our *Tractat de prenostication* was printed.

The *Tencar* collection brings together summaries and commentaries on a selection of Arabic, Greek, and Latin source material. Although the text does not include direct translations of original sources (except for selections from the *Tractat de Bahare*), it demonstrates that a greater range of primary source material was absorbed into Catalan scholarship than the textual record previously indicated. The first part of the work draws on the *Picatrix*, a work on astrological melothesia and talismanic magic of Arabic origin. The title, *Picatrix*, is probably

a corruption of Hippocrates, but the work is a translation of the Arabic *Ghāyat al-Hakīm* (Ed. Pingree 1986). Under the court of Alfonso X of Castile, Yehuda ben Moshe translated the Latin version of the *Picatrix* into Spanish and added his commentary. The Vela Palomares edition provides evidence that there was a Catalan version of *Picatrix*, now lost. Although the compiler of *Tencar* does not name *Picatrix* as a source, he follows the Latin version closely. Like the Jewish translator of the Spanish version, the editor of *Tencar* also added his own commentary (Vela Palomares 1997: 113).

This miscellany also includes fragments from *De prognosticationibus egyptudinum secundum motum lune*, a pseudo-Hippocratic medical treatise that relates the signs of the zodiac to parts of the body over which they exercised their power. The third section of the *Tencar* manuscript draws on the Alfonsine *Libro conplido en los iudizios de las estrellas*, a translation made of Abraham ibn Ezra's work on judicial astrology (Vela Palomares 1997: 155). The last section of this manuscript includes a translation from the *Tractat de Bahare*, also a work on lunar astronomy (Vela Palomares 1997: 188–191). Our *Tractat de prenostication* draws broadly on this same textual tradition, particularly in terms of Arabic source material (see Chapter 2).

The panorama outlined here reveals how Catalonia participated in the humanistic revalorization of the prognostic arts during the Italian Renaissance. The Catalan court in Naples is the most important vehicle for these changes, although humanistic influence is felt mostly in poetry and early romance. The influence of magic is less evident, particularly in mainland Catalan literature. We do find some examples of magic, particularly astrological magic, from Arabic sources. The materials available are largely of a popular nature, with the exception of the Arabic material in the Andorran *Tencar* and the judicial astrology of a few court astrologers such as Tresbéns. The continued influence of Arabic sources reflects an older medieval trend. By contrast, Renaissance astrologers in Italy began to favor Greek models of astrology and abandon “foreign” sources from the Arabic and Jewish traditions (Vernet and Romano 10).

The *Tractat de prenostication* is an important expression of the continuation of medieval trends. The astro-numerological apparatus, although by no means unique in Western Europe, is the only Catalan witness of this tradition. The text draws on sources similar to those found in the astrological miscellany from Andorra, particularly in its use of Arabic source materials. The simple style, with some humanistic

flourishes added for stylistic effect, is also a reflection on the state of the prognostic arts in late fifteenth century Catalonia.

The textual evidence available suggests that prognostication flourished in Catalonia much as it did in the rest of Renaissance Europe, although the humanistic influences run less deep. The effect is that the genres of a more popular character, such as the *lunaris*, almanacs, and miscellaneous treatises, such as the *Tractat de prenostication*, were more prevalent than learned works. In the next section, we will examine minor manuscripts that treat a number of superstitious forms of prognostication and provide further evidence that the magical and prognostic arts were more common in the Catalan tradition than scholars once assumed.

### C. Catalan Material in Relationship to other European Traditions

Late medieval and Renaissance prognostic material draws on many relics from the ancient Greco-Roman past. Likewise much of the Classical Greek and Roman corpus had been lost and was rediscovered through contact with eastern traditions. Often the ideas of prognostication stem directly from Jewish or Arabic sources or have been filtered through them. Some important scholarship has been done on lines of transmission, but much more work remains (Flint 1990; 1991).

We have studied the impact of Italian humanism on the Catalan prognostic and magical traditions in the fifteenth century, which continued to draw heavily on Arabic and Jewish sources. By contrast, the Italian humanists preferred Greek models of astrology. The relative paucity of original prognostic material in Catalonia probably does not indicate that prognostic astrology and magic were not practiced.

Rather it reflects external political and economic factors as well as the continued reliance on Arabic and Jewish models. The proliferation of Granollach's *Lunari*, Li's *Reportorio de los tiempos*, and the existence of the *Tractat de prenostication* thoroughly demonstrate an interest in popular magic. The importance of court astrologers and astrological physicians such as Tresbéns and Vilanova demonstrate that the upper echelons of Catalan nobility were also interested in prognostication.

Thorndike's massive *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (1923–58) remains the most important source for prognostic sciences. Thorndike had access to a number of Western European manuscripts and incun-

ables, many of which have not yet been edited or studied in their entirety. Without such text-critical spadework, it is impossible to evaluate the quantity or quality of the material. Too superstitious for historians of science and too scientific for literary scholars, one gets the impression that the prognostic corpus—slim though it may be—has slipped through the cracks. The Alfonsine translations of Arabic astronomy have been amply studied; the bibliography is too extensive to repeat here. Eugene Garin devoted a lifetime of professional scholarship largely to the development of magic, astrology, and prognostication in the Italian tradition (e.g. compilations in 1981; 1983; 1984). However works of a popular and prognostic nature don't receive the same treatment, particularly not in the Spanish and French traditions.

Laurel Means's study of Middle English prognostic material is one notable exception and is the only recent study of this genre. Means examined most of the English material from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries and developed a categorization scheme. Her four categories, "electionary", "lunary", "destinary", and "questionary" are a useful tool for approaching the material (367). Means's examination of the material encompasses primarily different forms of prognostication based on some form of astrology, and the material is extensive. Her categories will be evaluated and placed in context in the next chapter.

Means points out several important problems that scholars must tackle when sorting out prognostic material. The Latin titles may not accurately reflect the contents of the work in question. Furthermore, since the interest in astrology and magic was deeply absorbed into popular culture, astrological or magical references may be indiscriminately added to works in other genres (particularly in the natural sciences, but also in literature). Often shorter works are bound together in collections that may not contain accurate indices (369).

We observed that the most popular works are often reprinted under different titles or incorporated into larger works without reference. Andrés de Li's use of Granollach's *Lunari* is not the only instance of this. Chabás and Roca demonstrated that Granollach's lunar data is based upon a mathematical model developed by Bonjorn, a Jewish astronomer who was born in Girona in 1333 (128). Means provides many examples of this sort of syncretism in the English tradition.

The first step towards improving this situation is to make the material available in critical editions and accessible to a wide audience.

Only then can scholars begin to see exactly what material is available and what relationships exist among the various genres and different linguistic and cultural traditions. Recent studies of the extant Catalan corpus indicate that the body of scholarship is approaching something resembling a critical mass. The most notable studies include Vernet and Romano's edition of Tresbéns (1957); Chabás and Roca's scholarship on Granollachs's lunar charts (1985); Vela Palomares's edition of the *Tencar* astrological material (1995; 1997), and Delbrugge's edition of Li's *Reportorio de los tiempos* (1996; 1999). The present work is an attempt to build upon this scholarship.<sup>20</sup>

The Catalan material is not as extensive as Means found in Middle English; however, a search of the best database of Catalan manuscripts and incunables available to date revealed a number of items still not fully researched.<sup>21</sup> The following survey lists Catalan language material that may relate to the prognostic arts and that has been catalogued at the time this chapter was written.<sup>22</sup>

The anonymous *Tractat de tot lo cos de la lluna*<sup>23</sup> is contained within the *Flors de medicines*,<sup>24</sup> transcribed in Valencia from 1450–1500. A

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<sup>20</sup> Although it deals primarily with scientific texts in Latin and falls outside the scope of this investigation, Puigvert i Planagumà's study and edition of the astronomical MSS in the Santa Maria de Ripoll monastery and the dissertation upon which it is based both deserve a mention (1996; 2000). Readers interested in scientific production in Catalonia during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries will find these studies of great help.

<sup>21</sup> The *Bibliografía de Textos Catalans Antics* constitutes an ongoing project to catalogue all extant Catalan manuscripts and incunables. It constitutes an improvement over the *Bibliography of Old Catalan Texts* (Jorgensen 1985), which is still a useful tool. This database is included in the *PhiloBiblon* project. As new items are catalogued, they become available to the public in successive revisions of the *PhiloBiblon* home page and in CD-ROM format. Edited by Askins, Faulhaber, Sharrer, and a team of specialists, the *PhiloBiblon* web site and CD-ROM package both contain several databases (one for each of the major Romance language families in the Iberian Peninsula). As the Catalan database is most pertinent to the present study, I refer primarily to it, using the abbreviation BITECA. The database documents the title, contents, *incipit*, *explicit*, and bibliographic references to the works included. I am grateful to Gemma Avenoza of the Universitat de Barcelona, who is responsible for the BITECA database and who generously provided me with access to the most recent version for this study.

<sup>22</sup> The BITECA database includes a manuscript ID (MAN ID) for each item and, when other texts are included within the codex, a Text ID (TEXT ID) for each individual item in the volume. I provide both of these identifications in the footnotes. These reference numbers are the same in both the on-line and the CD-ROM versions of the BITECA project. Where possible, I have complemented the BITECA information with other references I have uncovered.

<sup>23</sup> BITECA TEXT ID 2605.

<sup>24</sup> BITECA MAN ID 1194.

*libro de medicina y recetario*<sup>25</sup> written in Catalan (despite the Spanish title) and copied from 1300–1400 contains a partially illegible note on meteorological astrology.<sup>26</sup> A Catalan version of the Alfonsine *Llibre dels judicis de les estrelles*<sup>27</sup> by Abraham Ezra is contained in the larger codex<sup>28</sup> of works by the author, now preserved in the Escorial. This work appears in several catalogues, and Vela Palomares refers to it in her study of the *Tencar* manuscript (1997: 155); however no complete study of the Catalan version exists.

The most important astrological manuscript under the Crown of Pere III of Aragon is housed in Ripoll at the Casa de Cultura.<sup>29</sup> It contains the *Tractat d'astrologia* by Tresbèns<sup>30</sup> (edited by Vernet and Romano in 1957) and a range of other astrological and astronomical material, much of which has not been studied. These include two anonymous treatises on astrology,<sup>31</sup> the astrological tables of Gilbert and Çes Planes,<sup>32</sup> and a text by Abenatzer called *Fòrmules per trobar l'ascendent a l'hora del naixement*.<sup>33</sup>

Pere Bohigas and Jordi Rubió i Balaguer studied a manuscript prediction titled “*Predicció astrològica 1427*” and other general astrological predictions located in another codex (1920–22).<sup>34</sup> Another anonymous *Tractat d'astrologia*<sup>35</sup> is housed in the university library of Valencia. This manuscript was copied between 1490–1510. It appears to treat meteorological astrology but is incomplete. This work was written in Catalan, Spanish, and Latin.

A lengthy codex<sup>36</sup> copied between 1300–1500 contains a fragment on the sign of Cancer and its properties.<sup>37</sup> The language used in this text is similar to that found in the *Tractat de prenostication*. However it does not follow the prediction for the sign of Cancer given in the *Tractat de prenostication* closely enough to establish any connection between the two texts. Finally, we find another anonymous *Tractat*

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<sup>25</sup> BITECA MAN ID 1192.

<sup>26</sup> BITECA TEXT ID 2117.

<sup>27</sup> BITECA TEXT ID 1002.

<sup>28</sup> BITECA MAN ID 1002.

<sup>29</sup> BITECA MAN ID 2114.

<sup>30</sup> BITECA TEXT ID 1955.

<sup>31</sup> BITECA TEXT ID 2457; BITECA TEXT ID 2458.

<sup>32</sup> BITECA TEXT ID 2456.

<sup>33</sup> BITECA TEXT ID 2336.

<sup>34</sup> BITECA MAN ID 2260.

<sup>35</sup> BITECA MAN ID 2307; BITECA TEXT ID 2779.

<sup>36</sup> BITECA MAN ID 1579.

<sup>37</sup> BITECA TEXT ID 3678.

*d'astrologia*<sup>38</sup> that dates from 1400–1410 that deals with judicial astrology. It also uses language similar to that found in the *Tractat de prenostication* but seems to derive from a different textual tradition.

This survey reveals that the Catalan corpus of prognostic literature, though not as extensive as that of other European traditions, is large enough to be taken seriously. The court astrologers are the best reflection of larger European trends and the only witness to academic and scientific forms of astrology. Much of this corpus, particularly the astronomical works, dates from the court of Pere III from (1361–74). The more common forms of prognostication, popular magic and astrology, survive only occasionally in works such as the *Tractat de prenostication*.

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<sup>38</sup> BITECA MAN ID 1273; BITECA TEXT ID 1313.



## CHAPTER TWO

### GENRES OF PROGNOSTIC MATERIAL IN THE CATALAN LANGUAGE

A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon  
under her feet, and upon her head a crown of  
twelve stars.

*Revelation 12.1*

The *Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens* preserves in the fifteenth century varieties of occult science that we can trace textually as far back as the seventh century and culturally much farther still. An examination of these traditions is the subject of this chapter. Although a detailed exploration of all available Catalan material is beyond the scope of the investigation, we will suggest a general framework for future exploration and draw out probable sources for the *Tractat de prenostication*.

The *Tractat de prenostication* is unique in the Catalan language because it recombines material from several prognostic traditions into a new form and renders it in simple vernacular language. It is also the only popular prognostic text to survive intact in incunable form. The few other popular texts in Catalan and Provençal that we have uncovered survive in manuscript form, often incomplete and in poor condition. Here we will explore links among these manuscripts, the *Tractat de prenostication*, and four of the most important genres of prognostic material: astrological magic, geomancy, numerology, and Hebrew gematria.<sup>1</sup>

Many classes of prognostic apparatus were available in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and there has been no definitive classification to date. The broad categories used here are for illustrative purposes only. They are intended merely to suggest lines of classification for

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<sup>1</sup> We will set aside for another study manners of divination such as augury, hydromancy, the interpretation of dreams, oracles, comets, witchcraft, and weather-based forms of prognostication, all of which existed in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.

the Catalan materials and are not meant to exhaust the possibilities. Laurel Means developed a simple four-part classification system for Middle English prognostic material: “electionary”, “lunary”, “destinarian”, and “questionary” (1992). The *Tractat de prenostication* and other Catalan materials under consideration fall roughly within the same period, the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. As this study represents the most recent attempt to frame astrologically-based prognostication, we will examine, evaluate, and suggest improvements here. Although her categories are useful tools for exploring connections among different methods of prognostication, Means’s system is not wholly applicable to the Catalan corpus because it encompasses only astrology and fails to include prognostication by other methods.

### A. *Astrology and Astrological Magic*

In chapter one, we observed that medieval authors often conflated the terms astrology and astronomy, although evidence suggests St. Isidore showed a greater sensitivity to this division than scholars had previously acknowledged. In this section, we exclusively treat astrology of the prognostic variety: that is astrology as a study of the constellations, the planets, their movements through the heavens and the influence of these on the sublunary world.<sup>2</sup>

Means’s four categories of astrological prognostication expand upon Eade’s bipartite division into “judicial” and “natal” astrology (1984). Natal astrology, also called “genethliacal” astrology, sought to predict the general outlines of a person’s life based upon the position of the stars at the moment of birth or conception. This type of astrology is closely related to natural philosophy, with its concern for the laws of nature that governed human events (Curry 8). Natal astrology is the most scientific variety, and one needs a fairly complex understanding of astronomy as well as a good manual for interpreting the heavens to cast a horoscope. Ptolemy is careful to subdivide natal astrology further into “general” and “specific” (*Tetrabiblos* 1.3). According to Ptolemy, some astrological influences impact whole countries or races, while others affect only the individual.

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<sup>2</sup> The reader may wonder why we do not simply state that astrology treats the influence of the stars on humankind. I cannot resist repeating Tester’s felicitous reference to Morin who, in the sixteenth century, writes of the “state of the heavens *circa nascentem hunc hominem vel equum*, around this man at his birth, or this horse” (239).

Means calls natal or genethliacal astrology the “destinary” and defines it as “a horoscope; a group of prognostications based upon [the] time of birth” (386). In natal astrology, the heavens are divided into twelve equal parts, no doubt influenced by the twelve constellations or signs of the zodiac. The zodiac is the zone about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  degrees on either side of the ecliptic through which the sun, moon, and planets travel (in a geocentric universe). The signs of the zodiac move through these fixed houses or resting-places. As Tester observes, “The twelve mundane houses, then, are a sort of fixed framework within which the zodiac revolves, in a clockwise direction” (27). In ancient times, this map of the heavens was represented not as a circle but as a square:

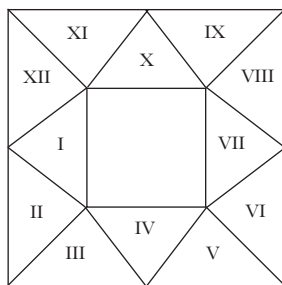


Figure 1. Houses of the Zodiac

Each of the houses was associated with a different sphere of life, and the label of each varies according to which astrological model one happens to follow. The point of departure for casting a horoscope is the ascendant: “This relationship of the zodiac to the circle of the houses was fixed by the ascendant, the degree of the zodiac which was rising over the horizon at the moment of birth, which marked the first house” (Tester 29). The first house, generally “life”, was the beginning of astrological prediction. Relationships among celestial bodies and the signs of the zodiac in the remainder of the houses formed the basis for the horoscope, or life prediction. We will not say more on the subject of natal astrology since the *Tractat de prenostication* does not deal with the topic.

When Bohigas stated that the *Tractat de prenostication* was a brief treatise on astrology (1965: 77), he was misled by its use of astrological symbolism, typical of popular forms of occult science. For example, the *Tractat* uses terminology from judicial astrology indiscriminately

in the second section, although the work has really nothing at all to do with astrology. Judicial astrology seeks to provide precise predictions or to offer advice on a specific question based on the position of the stars at the time the question was posed or the event under question was to take place. As Curry notes, judicial astrology was a practical art and often considered to function by supernatural means in contrast to natal astrology, which enjoyed a more scientific reputation (9).

When the humanistic concern for experimental science and Neo-Platonism finally eclipsed Aristotelian rationalism, judicial astrology came into favor among scientists. Nevertheless it forever came close to crossing the lines of heresy and was not fully embraced by the Church in the Middle Ages. There were Renaissance clergy who practiced the art, such as the Italian scholar Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), and these scholars successfully vindicated the science in the Renaissance along with other forms of magic (See Chapter 1, section A).

The most important classical sources for judicial astrology include the *Tetrabiblos* of Ptolemy and the *Centiloquium*, a popular collection of astrological aphorisms attributed to him. Arabic translations of the *Tetrabiblos* circulated in the Middle Ages. Plato of Tivoli translated the *Tetrabiblos* in 1136 (Lemay 65, n. 7). Latin translations were set in type as early as 1484 (Robbins in Ptolemy 1980: xv). The third section of the *Tractat de prenotication* contains a collection of theological statements and astrological aphorisms that derive, albeit indirectly, from this astrological tradition.

Ptolemy confined himself primarily to natal astrology in *Tetrabiblos* and the mathematical observations of the stars needed to carry it out in *Almagest*. More complex varieties of astrological prediction existed in the Greek and Arabic traditions. Ultimately all of these systems filtered into the Latin West and enriched the tradition of prognostication:

In the astrological texts of the Arabians, judicial astrology occupied a position of distinctly minor importance. Its place was taken by two other systems, current at the time of Ptolemy, which he had deliberately ignored—the so-called *interrogationes* and *electiones*. (Wedel 53–54)

Both *interrogationes* and *electiones* were known in the Middle Ages in translation. *Interrogationes* involve a complex set of rules designed to answer questions on a specific topic: the wealth of a future bride, the resting-place of a lost treasure, or the identity of a thief. The

*electiones* helped one choose the propitious moment for undertaking an important event such as marriage, travel, battle, and the like. *Electiones* can even help with such seemingly trivial details as the cutting of the nails (Wedel 53–54). In the *Tractat*, we find references to the appropriate day for washing the hair, which derive ultimately from this tradition.

According to Lemay, John of Seville's Latin translation of Abū Ma'shar's *Introductorium Maius* provided the "weird expression" "judicial astrology" in the twelfth century. The Classical Greek term for astrological judgements was "prognostication". John of Seville translated the Arabic *ahkām*, literally "authoritative pronouncement or learning", as "judgements" (67). Later the term "judicial astrology" is applied indiscriminately to Arabic and Greek works. We can already observe syncretism at work, the blending of two distinct systems into a new whole. Syncretism becomes a leitmotif in any study of the prognostic arts.

Means adopted the categories *electiones* and *interrogationes* and used them in her classification scheme, which conflates Greek forms of judicial astrology and the Arabic elections and interrogations. Although Means does not clearly explain this, the difference between Greek and Arabic forms of *electiones* and *interrogationes* is the apparatus used to compute them. For the Greeks, these categories constitute two branches of judicial astrology. In many Arabic sources, the *electiones* and *interrogationes* are not based on astrology at all, but rather on geomancy, an entirely different method of prognostication that we will treat in the next section.

Some Arabic forms of *electiones* and *interrogationes* do employ astrology, but differently than in the Greek texts. Arabic judicial astrology emphasizes the fixed stars, which are largely absent in Ptolemy, apart from those that make up the twelve constellations of the zodiac. There is also a greater emphasis on small divisions of the zodiac, divisions that were certainly known to the Greeks. For example, each of the mundane houses has thirty degrees. The houses could be subdivided into twelve smaller parts of 2 ½ degrees (the so-called *dodecatamoria* or twelve places) and a particular star or constellation assigned to each part (Tester 29). Thus a particular planet might be found in a house assigned to Cancer but within a division assigned to Pisces. The prediction would be tempered in part by both of these signs.

The Arabic astrologers also used lots in their system of *interrogationes* and *electiones*, only a few of which found their way into Greek

astrology. The lots are points in the zodiac found by computing relationships among the fixed stars and planets. The lots do not correspond to any physical body in the universe, but are merely theoretical constructs. The house in which these lots ultimately land is crucial to answering questions and making proper decisions. Al-Bīrūnī states that the number of these lots was increasing daily with each new treatment of astrology, but he listed ninety-seven of the most important ones (1934: 282). When Wedel states that Ptolemy ignored *electiones* and *interrogationes* (53–4), he was probably referring to the Arabic forms of this science. The Catalan astrologers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as Bartomeu Tresbéns, employed many of these lots in their treatments of judicial astrology, a fact that reflects the importance Arabic science continued to exercise in the Iberian Peninsula.

According to Means, “electionary” refers to a “guide for choosing activities according to the most favorable astrological conditions” (370). Her definition makes “electionary” a sub-grouping of judicial astrology. This is logical, for *electiones* and *interrogationes* are really two applications of the same system. The only difference is that *interrogationes* deals with specific questions rather than general topics. Means adopts the Anglicism “questionary” for the Latin term *interrogationes*.

Although Ptolemy does not have much to say on *electiones* and *interrogationes*, most Greek astrologers do. The Latin expression “*electio*” is itself a translation of the Greek *καταρχή* “inception” or “beginning”. Dorotheus of Sidon is the first to write of the subject in Greek, around the first century AD (Tester 88).

The technical differences between natal astrology and the systems of *electiones* and *interrogationes* are complex. Essentially, however, natal astrology examines the positions of the stars at one’s birth and projects forward. *Electiones* and *interrogationes* examine the position of the stars at the moment the question is made and then work backwards towards the birth chart (Tester 88). Furthermore, the astrological model underlying the system of *electiones* and *interrogationes* is more involved than in natal astrology. It looks at the ascendant (the degree of the zodiac which is rising over the horizon at the moment in question), the moon, and the relationship between these two (Tester 88). In contrast, natal astrology places little emphasis on the moon in determining the birth sign, although it does recognize its influence on the overall horoscope.

The system of *interrogationes*, as practiced in the Middle Ages, organizes the questions to be asked according to the twelve mundane houses. Here again we see syncretism at work, for the twelve mundane houses are features of natal astrology. With *electiones* and *interrogationes*, “the starting point for the configuration of the first house . . . could be determined by different factors, but usually questions are calculated according to the hour of the nativity of the questioner or the hour when the question was asked” (Means 395). The line between judicial astrology and natal astrology is fluid.

The *Tractat de prenostication* borrows almost nothing directly from the system of *electiones* and *interrogationes*. In the second half of the work, however, we find a reference to the *signes drets* and *signes prostrats*. This division of the zodiac into straight and crooked signs probably derives from Dorotheus of Sidon, one of the first to write on *interrogationes*. A look at the original meaning of these terms and their use in the *Tract de prenostication* provides a concrete example of the multiple systems at work in our text. Tester states that the terms constitute a “very simple division into those [signs] that rise in two equinoctial hours and those that rise in more” (89).

This division is useful as a starting place for the *interrogationes*, as Dorotheus discusses the varying effects of the prediction if the ascendant is straight or crooked signs (Tester 89). We also find this distinction, in a different form, in Ptolemy and in Arabic astrology. Al-Bīrūnī, whose *Elements of the Art of Astrology* (1029 AD) deals mostly with astronomy and mathematics, treats this distinction under the heading “judicial astrology”. He observes, “Signs of the ascending half are said to be signs of short or crooked ascension . . . while those of the descending half are said to be signs of long or direct ascension . . . The crooked signs are also called ‘obedient’ . . .” (1934: 229). Ramsay, who edited Al-Bīrūnī, observes that the “northern signs command because when the sun is on them, the day is longer than the night” (229).

An astrological miscellany (c. 1440) from Andorra, known as *Tencar*, assigns the Catalan terms *drets* and *prostrats* to the same signs as in the *Tractat*. Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius are straight, whereas Capricorn, Aquarius, Piscis, Aries, Taurus, and Gemini are crooked (Vela Palomares 1997: 100). Since neither *Tencar* nor the *Tractat de prenostication* is a method for making *electiones* or *interrogationes*, the only purpose of this distinction is to separate the weak

signs from the strong. In the *Tractat de prenostication*, the straight signs are the more powerful, although this is probably due to semantic association and has little to do with astrology *per se*.

Means's last category involves lunar prognostication or "lunary", which derives from Arabic and Hebrew traditions and substitutes the 28.5 day lunar cycle for that of the sun (376). The lunar calendar is common currency in many eastern traditions: Hebrew, Arabic, Chinese, and Indian. There are three theories about the origin of lunar astrology. Some state that either the system originated in China and spread through Central Asia to India and the Middle East or it began in India and spread to China and the Middle East subsequently. Others contend that the system began in Babylonia and was brought to Arabia, India, and finally China (Yampolsky 68). Tester argues that the Babylonian origin is the most convincing but does not bother to state why this is the case (82).

Whatever its origin, the lunar calendar reached the Latin West through Hebrew and Arabic sources. The Greco-Roman and Arabic traditions mutually refer to one another. Ptolemy did not base his calculations upon the lunar cycle, however he recognized the importance of the moon as the planet closest to the earth (*Tetrabiblos* 1.2).<sup>3</sup> Even in zodiacal astrology, the moon was one of the most important planets to consider when making astrological judgements. Lunar prognostication figures prominently in Renaissance astrology, and particularly in the fifteenth century material we find in Catalonia. The use of the term varies in different languages, however.

In Middle English usage, "lunary" often refers to computations on the age of the moon rather than prognostication based upon the lunar calendar (Means 376). In Catalan, *lunari* or *llunari* refers to charts of lunar data that include the dates of new and full moons and lunar eclipses. The data is based upon a complex astronomical model, which is generally not published with the data tables (e.g. Granollach's Catalan *lunari*). In chapter 1, we observed that this lunar data was often incorporated into larger almanacs or calendars such as Li's *Reportorio de los tiempos*. The data was useful in computing moveable feasts in the ecclesiastical calendar, for example.

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<sup>3</sup> "The moon, too, as the heavenly body nearest the earth, bestows her effluence most abundantly upon mundane things, for most of them, animate or inanimate, are sympathetic to her and change in company with her . . ." (*Tetrabiblos* 1.2).



The lunar calendar also has a system of mansions (from Arabic *manzil*) similar to the division of the zodiac into houses in solar astrology. The system of twenty-eight lunar mansions was not considered in accord with orthodox Catholic theology:

This system of lunar mansions could easily serve for magical purposes, and seems to have been in bad odor with Church writers. In the *Speculum Astronomiae*, ascribed to Albert the Great, the twenty-eight lunar mansions are expressly connected with diabolical arts. (*Alberti Magni Opera*, ed. Jammy, 1751, 5. 656) (cit. in Wedel 54)

Like many other features of astrology, the lunar mansions originally had nothing to do with the topic but represent a later conflation of the different systems. The importance of the lunar mansions in the Arabic tradition is obvious, as the Islamic calendar was and still is based on the synodic month (Tester 82).

The twenty-eight days of the lunar month give us the division of twenty-eight lunar mansions. The system originally grew out of the superstitious belief in lucky and unlucky days, referred to as Egyptian days.<sup>4</sup> The mansions were first associated with fixed stars and later with seventeen or twenty-eight animal symbols. Tester believes that the survival of the fixed stars as a feature of Western astrology is due to their importance in lunar astrology (82). The association of the lunar mansions to animal symbols is found in Egypt and represents a different tradition. The association of the stars to animal symbols and thence to the constellations represents a complicated and lengthy process, perhaps completed and grafted onto zodiacal astrology by the second century AD (Tester 83).

The importance of the moon is readily apparent in all systems of astrology. However Means's system of classification begins to break down when it treats lunar astrology as category distinct from the "electionary" and "questionary" because lunar and solar astrology can both be used for *electiones* and *interrogationes*. Means has used a functional label in three cases (i.e. "electionary", "destinatory", "questionary") and structural or descriptive label in the fourth (i.e. lunar versus solar). Her classification scheme also fails to distinguish between Arabic and Greek forms of *electiones* and *interrogationes*, namely by

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<sup>4</sup> Popular almanacs suggest that it is dangerous to perform certain acts (e.g. washing the hair, cutting the nails, beginning a journey) on specific days of the week. The Egyptians and Babylonians both used lists of lucky and unlucky days, and the former have given their name to the tradition (Tester 88–91).

blending astrological prognostication with Arabic systems based on geomancy. Means's system derives largely from the titles of the Middle English texts, a feature which she observes is not always adequate for understanding the work in question (368).

A better classification system would treat natal and judicial astrology separately. The *electiones* and *interrogationes* are properly treated together as two sub-branches of judicial astrology since they both derive from the same traditions and represent two different applications of judicial astrology. The influence of the moon is best treated apart, as a philosophical addition to astrology, following Tester's suggestion (82). Arabic forms of judicial astrology should also receive separate treatment, especially when based upon geomancy, since this science springs from wholly independent textual traditions. Finally, the numerological and magical treatises that employ astrological symbolism should also be treated under a separate heading. Means does not consider astrological magic in her survey of Middle English prognostic material.

Astrological magic, broadly defined, encompasses any magical or occult art that refers to astrological symbolism and professes a belief in the power of the stars. Astrological magic occasionally treats the planets as deities in their own right, and the number of these systems is legion. Astrology exercised a deep and powerful influence on popular culture throughout much of recorded history; however the science required complex and sometimes secret or illegal knowledge. Astrological magic makes use of the astrological symbols without the complicated theoretical baggage necessary to compute a horoscope. Two of the most common forms of astrological magic are sympathetic and talismanic.

Practitioners of astrological medicine believed the stars exercised their effects on different parts of the body, a theory known as melothesia. The *Reportorio de los tiempos* contains woodcuts that represent a naked male figure with his body divided into zones of astrological influence. These "zodiac men" were a common feature of popular almanacs in the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Delbrugge in Li 1999: 9). Sympathetic magic derives from the Hippocratic-Galenic tradition, in which the most common cure is a force of equal power and opposite effect: *contraria contrariis curantur*. The works of Hippocrates and Galen survive in the Western world largely through transmission via Arabic sources. In Catalonia, the medical works of Arnau de Vilanova (1235–1313) and Raimon Llull (1232–1315) are the most important expressions of this tradition.

The *Tractat* refers to the parts of the body that are most likely to cause trouble for men and women born under the various signs of the zodiac. These references appear, at first glance, to draw on astrological melothesia; but, upon close inspection, they do not follow the classical sources or other astrological works written in the same period. Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the assignation of signs or planets to bodily zones in two Catalan texts and two standard authorities. Note that the *Tracat de prenostication* treats men and women separately, unlike the other sources.

Table 1. Melothesia in Two Catalan Texts

<i>Sign/Planet</i>	<i>Tractat (c. 1485)</i>	<i>Tencar (c. 1430–1440)</i>
Aries (Mars)	M*: stomach pain	eyes and ears
Taurus (Mars and Venus)	M: genitals, foreskin; disease of head, arm, or belly F: illness of eyes or feet	neck; gall bladder
Gemini (Mercury)	M: heart pain; nervousness F: many general illnesses	spleen
Cancer (Moon)	—	belly
Leo (Sun)	M: foot injury	kidneys
Virgo (Mercury)	—	left kidney of men over 50 years
Libra (Venus)	M: eye injury	stomach
Scorpio (Mars)	M: sign on the feet	right testicle
Sagittarius (Jupiter)	—	right hand
Capricorn (Saturn)	—	left hand
Aquarius (Saturn)	—	right foot and various illnesses
Pisces (Jupiter)	F: speech will bring her harm	feet, knees, legs, thighs

\* M = Male; F = Female

Table 2. Melothesia in Two Classical Authorities

<i>Planet</i>	<i>Ptolemy (floruit 1000 AD)</i>	<i>Al-Bīrūnī (1029 AD)</i>
Saturn	right ear; spleen; bladder; phlegm; bones	right ear; buttocks; feet; bowels; penis; back; height; knees; old age
Jupiter	touch; lungs; arteries; semen	left ear; hearing and touch; thighs; intestines; womb; throat; middle age
Mars	left ear; kidneys; veins; genitals	right nostril; smell and touch; legs; pubes; gall-bladder, kidney; youth
Sun	sight; brain; heart; sinews; right side	right eye; sight; head and chest; sides; teeth; mouth; full manhood
Venus	smell; liver; flesh	left nostril; smell and nose; womb; genitals; hands and fingers; youth and adolescence
Mercury	speech and thought; tongue; bile; buttocks	tongue (together with Venus); taste; speech organs; childhood
Moon	taste; drinking; stomach; belly; womb; left-hand parts of body	left eye; vision and taste; neck; breasts; lungs; stomach; spleen; infancy to old age

Sources: *Tetrabiblos* 3.12; *Elements of Instruction* 248.

When astrological medicine operates by supernatural rather than scientific means, it becomes magical. Sympathetic magic makes use of a rich corpus of folklore on the powers of plants, animals, rocks, etc. to counteract the negative influences of the stars or of a curse. The *Tractat de prenostication* does not treat magic directly, but it does allude to the magical powers found in nature and in man-made signs. Discussing the manner for avoiding the negative influence of the stars, the *Tractat de prenostication* suggests such power is found in precious stones, herbs, animals, magical seals, and planets, among many other items.<sup>5</sup>

Talismanic magic<sup>6</sup> simply concentrates the effect of this power in

<sup>5</sup> “. . . pedras preciosas e erbas, e encara animals e segells ho pedras ab figuras, arbres e planets, e moltes altres cosas . . .” (Fol. 11<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> The Church generally opposed the use of talismans and other non-Christian symbols. St. Thomas Aquinas accepted amulets as long as they did not bear any symbols because we use symbols only when we expect some other intelligent being to interpret them. Therefore magicians who use symbols, incantations, and so forth, must necessarily be addressing themselves to demons (*Summa contra gentiles* 3.105).

amulets or other artifacts, also referred to in the preceding passage from the *Tractat de prenostication*. Sometimes these amulets bear the figure of an astrological constellation or magical numbers associated with the sign. The most important medieval source text on talismanic magic is *Picatrix*, a Latin translation of *Ghāyat al-Hakīm* (Ed. Pingree 1986). In the first chapter, we noted that a fragmentary version of this work is found in a Catalan miscellany known as *Tencar* and may suggest that a complete Catalan translation of the text once existed.

### B. Geomancy

Geomancy is to the Arabic tradition what judicial astrology was for the Greeks and, eventually, the Latin West. It was a common means of prognostication based upon simple mathematical principles. Practitioners of geomancy used the science to answer their clients' *interrogationes* and to help them make *electiones*. The Latin West received the science of geomancy from Arabic scholars, although the practice may have originated in the Mesopotamian basin or India (Charmasson 3).

Originally geomancers drew a series of random points on the sand or on a piece of paper. The geomancer was not supposed to pay close attention to the number of points drawn, except to make sure there were at least twelve points in each row and that there were sixteen rows of points (Charmasson 25). The points were then connected and rearranged into figures in a sort of pyramid. The number of points per figure was of particular importance. There were eight possible figures, each with a name and significance. Elaborate rules explained how to construct, combine, and interpret the figures produced by this methodology. Although the Latin geomancies all share basic features, there were many subtle variations on the original Arabic source material.

The geomantic figures received the names of the astrological houses; and in this way, astrology and geomancy become associated in the textual tradition.<sup>7</sup> In astrological geomancy, rather than search for

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<sup>7</sup> "Certaines oeuvres, qui portent également le nom de géomanties, représentent un type de divination différent, qu'il serait plus juste d'appeller géomancie astrologique, ou comme le nomme le traducteur d'une géomancie de ce type, attribuée à Gérard de Crémone, géomancie astronomique. Le jet des points n'a pas pour but la construction d'un thème géomantique, mais celle d'un thème astrologique . . ." (Charmasson 217).

the answer to a question, one tries to discover the birth sign. Although one has to learn certain basic rules, this does not involve the complex understanding of mathematics and astronomy necessary to cast a standard astrological horoscope. The astrological symbolism, familiar to many people, and the simple calculations needed to obtain an answer earned this hybrid form of prognostication immense popularity.

Some of the earliest Latin texts on geomancy are associated with the name of Bernard Silvester (*floruit* 1150). The texts belong to a complex tradition known in a few of the manuscripts as the *Experimentarius*, and most of the manuscripts are preserved in English libraries (Thorndike 2: 122–23). The basis of most of the *Experimentarius* corpus is unmistakably geomancy. In one set of manuscripts, the instructions require that one divide by the magical number seven to obtain the name of a “Judge of the Fates”, of which there are twenty-eight, no doubt influenced by the lunar calendar. The magical number twenty-eight repeats itself as there are twenty-eight lines of text containing as many responses to twenty-eight subjects of inquiry (Thorndike 2: 113). Thus the *Experimentarius* represents an early medieval form of *interrogationes* based upon geomancy. As Thorndike further notes, there are many manuscripts in the tradition and they are often bound together with unrelated material; several independent strains have become irrevocably confused (2: 115). One of these strains treats an alpha-numeric form of divination ascribed to Pythagorus. We will return to this tradition again when we speak of numerology.

Savorelli (1959) is the only modern edition of the *Experimentarius*, but Burnett has questioned her choice of manuscript witnesses and a number of her readings (1977). According to Burnett, we find the only bit of this tradition truly attributable to Bernard Silvester on pages 312–342 of Savorelli’s edition (1977: 84–5). Savorelli’s material, according to Burnett, more likely belongs to another textual tradition called *Sortes regis Amalrici*, of which two complete versions exist. Burnett traces the first version to the late classical period and the second version, in Leonine hexameter, to the eleventh century (1977: 85). The text belongs to an astrologically-based form of the *sortes* tradition, or lot casting, which we will examine in the next section.

To date, the only complete study of geomancy as a genre is Charmasson (1980), who listed all the manuscripts on geomancy that she found in Latin and the vernaculars. There is no listing for any Catalan language sources, although there appears to be some tradition in Provençal from the fifteenth century. Charmasson lists the

*Libro de los juycios de calatarrama*<sup>8</sup> trasuntado de abrayco en rromance, the only known Spanish language geomancy. Preserved in the Colombine Library in Seville, this text dates from the fifteenth century. Most of the vernacular texts included in Charmasson's study, however, are written in English and French<sup>9</sup> (301–3).

Geomancy was common currency in the early Middle Ages; the number of manuscripts preserved in Western European libraries is quite large, although not as large as the astrological corpus (Charmasson 223). No Catalan language treatise on geomancy exists; however we have at least one Catalan system of prognostication based upon the system.<sup>10</sup> The text was uncovered quite by chance, like our *Tractat de prenostication*. Carreras y Candi reports having discovered a battered old manuscript on the subject while rummaging around the Cathedral of Barcelona in 1901. Carreras y Candi believes the work was copied around 1300, based upon paleographic analysis and the large number of Provençal vocabulary items in the text (325).

It is an irony of history that popular works on prognostication, once condemned, are preserved in church libraries. Carreras y Candi's manuscript, a unique find, contains eight unnumbered folia. The computational apparatus is entirely missing, which makes it impossible to discern whether the text belongs under the rubric of geomancy or some similar form of lot casting. Whatever the apparatus, the work is based upon the number twenty, as there are twenty chapters and twenty areas of inquiry (329). Carreras y Candi believes the work requires the casting of a die, although there are numerous possibilities (329).

Carreras y Candi transcribed the work in its entirety and, from the general appearance, the work belongs to a particular form of

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<sup>8</sup> The unusual word *calatarrama* derives from the Arabic for "striking the sand", a reference to the original method of casting geomantic themes by marking points in the ground with a stick.

<sup>9</sup> A fifteenth century French and Latin manuscript constitutes one of the most interesting sources on popular prognostication. The French language sections include works on medical astrology, herbal lore, physiognomy, chyromancy, the interpretation of dreams, geomancy, horoscopes, lunar prognostics, remedies for the plague, and recipes for other medical cures among other associated lore. See Camus (1895) cit. in Charmasson (1980) for a discussion.

<sup>10</sup> Ramon Llull (1232–1316) refers to geomancers who, like other sorts of fortune-tellers, often traveled from town to town peddling advice. He condemns them firmly in his *Arbre de sciència* as charlatans out to make a quick profit, not because they were associated with any sort of diabolical art.

prognostication that falls somewhere between geomancy and lot casting. Table 3 reproduces the index on the first page of the MS. The inquirer selects one among twenty topics and then reports to the appropriate figure to make his consultation:

Table 3. Topics of Inquiry in a Popular Catalan Geomancy

I	Darmes	vay al cauler
II	Damors	vay al ruciyol
III	De riqueta	vay al corp
IV	De mala?tia	vay al urinal
V	De portad ??? infant	vay a la nudrisa
VI	De clar ??? ms	vay al ca
VII	Delongament	vay a la irunda
VIII	De mercadería	vay al mercader
IX	De perdua	vay al layro
X	De pats	vay al ayel
XI	De betale	vay al lao
XII	De meridatge	vay al cugul
XIII	Despuncelatge	vay a la tortra
XIV	De viatge	vay al pelagrí
XV	De preso	vay al felco
XVI	De playt	vay a lesgleya
XVII	De enamic	vay a la volp
XVIII	De longa vida	vay a la gila
XIX	De tristea	vay al mulas
XX	Desperance	vay al Breton

These topics are similar to the standard areas of inquiry in geomancy and reflect a difference between this tradition and our *Tractat de prenostication*. In astrological forms of prognostication, one discovers his birth sign and is sent there to read a general life description. In standard geomancy, one is sent to a particular figure (e.g. wise patriarchs, judges, kings, mythological birds, etc.) to make a consultation. In table 3, each of the respective figures has another table of twenty answers in rhyming couplets. The work is similar to other books of lots (called *libros de suertes* in Spanish and *llibres de sorts* in Catalan), a topic to which we now turn our attention.



C. *Numerology and Astro-numerology*

Numerological symbolism derives ultimately from a belief common to the world's cultures that certain days are lucky and others unlucky, the so-called Egyptian Days.<sup>11</sup> The Latin West is no exception to this rule; there is literally no area of medieval learning that is not in some way infused with number theory. The *Tractat de prenostication* employs one of many astro-numerological systems of future telling. Like Hebrew *gematria*, these forms of prognostication involve the association of letters to numbers and require the user to perform a variety of calculations upon them.

Number consciousness receives added impulse from the classical philosophers. As Tester notes, "The Pythagoreans made number games philosophically respectable, and the great authority of Plato raised mathematics into theological realms. But at the lowest level, numbers remained magical" (65). Plato believed the universe was a living creature infused with a soul, the *anima mundi*. The *anima mundi* was based in turn upon harmonious mathematical ratios (MacQueen 31). Nicomachus of Gerasa (*floruit c. 100–200 AD*), drawing on the later notion that Plato's Forms were ideas in the mind of God, fused this notion with mathematics. The basis for Nicomachean philosophical mathematics is the number one, which was not a number at all in Greek. Rather it refers to the concept of "unity" or "the unit". Greek number series began with the number two. "One" became the motivating force for all numbers, the necessary beginning, although it was not a number itself.<sup>12</sup>

This leads easily to the association of *monad*, "the one", and God. As MacQueen notes, "Creation is then parallel to the expansion of the number series, and as the number series is already implicit in the monad, so creation is implicit in the mind of God" (6). The link between numbers and theology is an important point, and it is easy to see how Christianity adopted Pythagorean and Platonic principles and worked them harmoniously into the fabric of medieval cosmology. The fathers of the Catholic Church, so dutiful in their pursuit

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<sup>11</sup> See note 4.

<sup>12</sup> On the definition of "one", St. Isidore repeats this observation verbatim: "Numerus autem est multitudo ex unitatibus constituta. Nam unum semen numeri esse, non numerum" (*Etymologiae* 3.3.1).

of non-Christian forms of magic, encouraged their faithful to scrutinize the Bible for underlying numerological meaning.

The patristic writers did not have to look very hard, for the Bible is steeped in number philosophy. Whereas the Old Testament is redolent of Hebrew number symbolism, the New Testament was written at a time when Neo-Platonic and Gnostic theories were common currency. These Greek number philosophies infuse and inform the entire New Testament.<sup>13</sup> When Jesus states, “I am the Alpha and the Omega”, He is using Greek number symbolism (Revelation 22.13). In the Greek alphabet, letters also have a numerical value. Alpha and Omega are the beginning and end of the Greek alphabet. By extension, Christ embodies all numbers, all creation. In the Gospel of John, where traces of Gnostic philosophy are most clearly present, Christ is referred to as the Word. We read, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God. And without Him was not anything made that was made” (John 1.1–3 RSV). Christ encompasses in flesh and in spirit the full power of words and numbers. With Platonic philosophy and Gnostic symbolism in tow, it is possible to trace all manner of numerological and alphanumeric symbolism in the Bible.<sup>14</sup>

Our treatment of numerological prognostication would be incomplete without a discussion of the link between letters and numbers. Medieval Christians explained many of their symbols in terms of numbers. This practice is based upon the Greek and Hebrew alphabets, in which each letter also represents a numerical value. Early Christians found these associations pregnant with theological implications:

The reason of their [the Greek Christians] having twenty-four letters is the ten senses of man and the ten commandments of the Law and the four Gospels. Whereas to Romans, the reason for having twenty-three letters is that there are ten senses of man also and Ten Commandments of the Law and the Trinity. (MacQueen 11)

Medieval readers of the *Tractat de prenostication* and similar literature probably had only the most vague understanding of the rich philosophical basis for the prognostic art they held in their hands. The

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<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of number philosophy in the Gnostic tradition and in the Bible, see Rudolph (1984).

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of specific numbers and their religious, cultural, and mystical significance, see Schimmel (1993).

interest in numbers and number symbolism was so much a part of the culture that it was taken for granted, much as we take the scientific method or Freudian psychology for granted today.

The textual tradition for astro-numerological forms of prognostication is highly complex and difficult to trace for reasons already exposed. Only a few contemporary authors cite source texts in their footnotes; most simply cite one another.<sup>15</sup> The source texts are, with a few exceptions, unedited and inaccessible. In this review, we will consider four strains of numerological prognostication that exist in Catalan and have some bearing on the *Tractat de prenostication*.

The first form of prognostication involves lot casting, also known as *sortes* in Latin. The second strain is neo-Pythagorean in origin and is found in Hermetic texts such as the *Wheel of Life and Death*. The basis of this form of divination is *onomancy*, which draws on the numerical value of names. The *Tractat de prenostication* uses such a system. The third strain of number prophecy is Arabic in origin. Some of these works are enumerated in the Hermetic corpus as well. Finally the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta secretorum* tradition employs divination by numbers. This tradition is also based upon original Arabic sources. Undoubtedly there are relationships among these traditions that can only fully be ascertained after the source material has been made available in critical editions.

According to Burnett, the material available provides sufficient evidence for an uninterrupted *sortes* tradition from the classical period through the Middle Ages (1996: 85). In as much as they employ astrological symbolism, these books of fortune are similar to the *Tractat de prenostication*. As Burnett observes, the Greek versions of *sortes* literature do not generally bear references to the lunar mansions. One obtains a magical number and is sent to a judge, a figure, a planet or the like. In the *Sortes regis Amalrici*, one finds references to the twenty-eight mansions of the moon, and the method for obtaining the magical number is similar to that found in Arabic geomancy.

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<sup>15</sup> Tester mentions popular forms of prognostication involving the magical properties of words and letters but offers no references (65). Hopper also notes the importance of such a system but apparently finds the subject too difficult to tackle: "It was even considered possible to discover the sign of any individual by means of arithmancy, which was itself a method of divination utilizing a highly involved combination of Pythagoreanism, gematria, and simple mathematics, which I will not attempt to describe" (Hopper 119).

Burnett suggests one plausible hypothesis about the transmission of the geomancy known as the *Experimentarius*, based on thorough textual study of the material. The *Experimentarius* of Silvestris may have been an autochthonous Latin text of which only the preface survives, whereas the *Sortes regis Amalrici* belongs to an independent tradition (1977: 86). Burnett further suggests that the *Sortes regis Amalrici* is much like other *sortes* texts occurring in the seventh century and based on Greek material. This means that the popular *sortes* tradition in the Latin West involves a blending of Arabic and Greek source material, perhaps closely related to geomancy (86).

Whatever the earliest sources may be, *sortes* literature survives in the Iberian Peninsula in the form of popular books of prognostication that, although taken seriously by many, also exist as fortune-telling games. Carreras y Candi's anonymous thirteenth century Catalan text is a witness to this tradition. In sixteenth century, we find books such as the *Libro de las suertes* in the Spanish language. Navarro Durán reedited a Spanish version of such a game and studied the Latin manuscripts preserved in Spanish libraries (1987). In *Arcadia*, Lope de Vega describes a pastoral scene in which shepherds play one such game (1980: 396–400). Indeed such games are still popular in the Western world.

The second strain of numerological prognostication derives from the neo-Pythagorean tradition and is transmitted in the Hermetic corpus. Hermetic literature is one branch of pseudo-epigraphic writings that were common currency in the Roman Empire. These writings, often ascribed to Egyptian gods or sages, purport to reveal secret wisdom of the ancients. Many works are doubtless forgeries but, as Thorndike observes, they often do repeat timeless forms of magic and prognostication (1: 287). Hermes Trimegistos or Hermes the Egyptian is a conflation of the Egyptian god Thoth and the Greek god Hermes, both responsible for all manner of science, learning, magic, and experimentation. Trimegistos is a curious appellation derived from the Egyptian *megistos* or “great”. When applied three times, the god becomes “Hermes the Great Great Great” or simply “Hermes Trimegistos” (Thorndike 1: 288).

Among this motley collection of manuscripts, we find methods of prognostication based upon the numerical value of names. Although often grouped with Hermetic writings, these works are generally attributed to Pythagorus, the great mathematician of Samos. In the neo-Pythagorean tradition, the most important numerals are those

from one to ten. These form the basis of all other numbers and have magical properties. When computing the numerical value of one's name for example, one reduces the number to one of these digits.

A form of divination based upon Pythagorean philosophy survives in the Western Europe in the form of the so-called "Spheres of Life and Death", a generic label applying to a variety of texts. The *Sphere of Democritus, Prognostic of Life and Death*, preserved in a Leiden papyrus provides one such example (Thorndike 1: 682). Generally one finds a table assigning a number to each letter of the Latin alphabet, as in the *Tractat de prenostication*. After computing the value of the proper name in question, one examines a wheel of fortune. This sphere contains numbered compartments with such labels as "life" and "death". The obvious purpose of these spheres is to predict the health of a sick person, but there are other applications as well.<sup>16</sup>

For example, one can employ the same basic system to foresee which of two combatants will win a battle. Festugière and Massignon list many Greek manuscripts attributed to Pythagorus or to his son, Telauges, which provides a prognostic device for such a battle (1: 336).<sup>17</sup> One computes the numerical value of the names of each combatant and reduces the result to one of the base numbers from one to ten. An accompanying table provides various formulas for deciding who will win the battle. Following the mystical properties of the *monad*, the number one triumphs in all cases (Festugière and Massignon 1: 336–7).

This sort of name-number divination survives in yet another iteration known as the *Letter from Nechepso to Petosirus* (an Egyptian king and priest, respectively). The only extant MS in the Iberian Peninsula is Madrid 10016 from the thirteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

A text ascribed to St. Donatus also uses a form of astro-numerology similar to the one found in the *Tractat de prenostication*.<sup>19</sup> The formula

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<sup>16</sup> Thorndike was able to work directly from many manuscripts that are still not easily accessible, and his partial listing of sources for the "Sphere of Life and Death" is the only such repertory available (1: 692–94).

<sup>17</sup> The largest edition of Greek prognostic materials available is the massive *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum*, ed. Cumont, Kroll, Boll, et al., Brussels, 1898. For a discussion of some of the material, consult Thorndike and Festugière et al.

<sup>18</sup> The incipit begins "spera de morte vel vita . . ." (Fol. 85<sup>v</sup>). In this tradition, the numbers from one to thirty are used. Thorndike further notes that the text was originally housed in an English Cluniac monastery (1: 693).

<sup>19</sup> MS Egerton 821, twelfth century. Fol. 15: "Hic est spera quod fecit sanctus Donatus. Quicumque egrotare incipit . . ." (Thorndike 1: 684).

in this text requires the user to calculate the numerical value of the given name and the mother's name (Thorndike 2: 684). In the St. Donatus text, one computes the difference in value between the client's name and that of his mother to find the birth sign. In contrast, the *Tractat de prenostication* requires that one take the sum of the client's name and that of his mother and to divide that by twenty-eight. The remainder determines the birth sign. Many other systems are possible, and it has so far been impossible to develop a *stemma codicum* for the tradition.<sup>20</sup>

In both cases, these texts illustrate divination by astro-numerology. Like astrological magic, astro-numerology is a hybrid prognostication system that makes symbolic use of the signs of the zodiac. In neither case do the movements, positions, or relationships among the constellations have any value. However some medieval readers obviously thought such systems belonged to astrology proper. An apologetic tract, appended to the *Tractat de prenostication*, provides justification for prognostication by astrology and makes use of terminology from the science. The compiler obviously felt it was a useful justification for the name-number symbolism described in the first half of the text. We find both astrology and astro-numerology fused together in the *Tractat de prenostication*, which is common in this tradition.

In the second section of the *Tractat de prenostication*, we find a reference to Pythagorus, so it appears that the treatise draws, albeit indirectly, on the astro-numerological tracts of the Hermetic corpus. The relationship between letters and numbers in our *Tractat* is random. However the highest value assigned to any letter is twenty-four, perhaps a reference to the Greek alphabet (See chapter 3, section B below). The use of the lunar number twenty-eight as a divisor would contradict this, however, because such lunar numbers are more commonly found in *prognostica* of the Arabic variety. It is

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<sup>20</sup> Divination by astro-numerology survives in the twentieth century. Most of the texts are conceived as practical manuals and are universally uncritical. Most are also unhistorical; some grossly so. For a contemporary example, see Halfon (1984). He adds Uranus, Neptune, and Pluto to the equations (discovered in 1781, 1846, and 1930 respectively). To make the number of planets equal to the number of constellations, he adds the *lune noir* or "black moon", which he associates with Karma (99). The association of numbers to planets and to the alphabet represents a similar conflation of Arabic, Greek, and Hebrew systems. Halfon's work is useful as a contemporary example of the blending of cultural traditions that took place in twelfth century Spain.

possible to separate Arabic astro-numerology from Greek versions and postulate a separate strain in the literature.

The third major grouping of numerological prognostic devices are Arabic in origin. The earliest witnesses preserved are dated between the tenth and eleventh centuries,<sup>21</sup> the time when Arabic science was just beginning to penetrate into the consciousness of the Latin West. The so-called *Mathematic of Alchandrus* (or Alhandreus) includes a system of prognostication much like the Pythagorean spheres. Pietro of Abano in his *Lucidator astronomiae*, written in 1310, mentions Alchandrus as a successor of Hermes Trismegistos in the use of astronomy (Thorndike 1: 710, n. 5).

The prognostic apparatus in the Alchandrus texts also computes the value of the questioner's name and his mother's name, although in this case the Hebrew alphabet is used instead of the Greek. This is no surprise, however, as many ancient texts employ foreign alphabets or invent magic alphabets of their own. The calculations do not provide the birth sign, as in our *Tracat de prenostication*, but rather one of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon (given in their Arabic names). A description of the characteristics of men born under each lunar sign usually accompanies the apparatus. Of particularly interest are mentions of markings found on the body, such as dog bites and wounds from hot irons, because these references also occur repeatedly in the *Tracat de prenostication* (Thorndike 1: 712–13).

There are many manuscript versions of the Alchandrus text in Latin. From the sixteenth and seventeenth century onward, translations were also printed in English and French. The name of the author varies in the texts, and no Spanish or Catalan translations are known (Thorndike 1: 711–718). To further complicate matters, a geomancy is ascribed to Alkardianus or Alchandiandus. This text is also arranged according to the twenty-eight divisions of the zodiac with twenty-eight judges and twenty-eight chapters. The author states that he has also composed works on lunar prediction and offers this simple geomancy as a more convenient means to predict the future. According to Thorndike, who personally inspected many of the manuscripts, the tables are identical to one of the strains of geomancy associated with the *Experimentarius* (1: 717). This tends to confirm

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<sup>21</sup> Bibliothèque National de Paris 17868, fols. 85<sup>v</sup>–99<sup>v</sup> *Mathematica Alhandrei summa astrologi* dates from the tenth century; British Library Addit. 17808, fol. 86<sup>v</sup>; Munich Staatsbibliothek MS CLM 560, fols. 61–87 (See Thorndike 1: 710 for a discussion).

Burnett's theory (1977) that the *Experimentarius* is built up from several independent textual traditions.

The pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta secretorum* tradition is the last strain of astro-numerological prognostication we will consider. The texts that make up the *Secreta secretorum* corpus belong to a genre, known as the mirror of princes, that transmits the wisdom of statecraft and other knowledge appropriate for young rulers. The *Secreta secretorum* purportedly contains the teachings of Aristotle to his young pupil, Alexander the Great. Like the Hermetic corpus, these texts claim the authority of the ancients and the mystery that surrounds secret knowledge. The text appears to have entered Western Europe in the twelfth century with the first rebirth of magic and experimental science. A certain Johannes, often associated with John of Seville (*floruit* 1135–1150), made one of the first Latin translations of the original Arabic *Kitāb sirr al-asrār* (Gaster 746).<sup>22</sup>

The *Secreta* corpus is far too extensive to discuss at length here; every important European library contains at least one manuscript or printed version. In his edition, Manzalaoui estimates the number of MSS at around 500 (1977: ix). As we observed with the *Experimentarius*, works such as this are accretive, built up from a variety of different sources. In any case, the *stemma codicum* for the *Secreta secretorum* has not yet been completed, although Manzalaoui skillfully laid out the principle problems in the tradition (1974).

Gaster translated and provided a critical edition based upon the collation of four Hebrew manuscripts, the earliest of which dates from 1382 (1971). We refer primarily to Gaster's translation and edition of the Hebrew version in our study. According to Gaster, the style and language points to one of the Jewish translators active in Spain at the time (Gaster 748). What concerns our *Tractat de prenostication* is chapter ten involving the calculations of the names of generals.

This prognostic device requires that one calculate the value of two generals' names based upon the Hebrew alphabet. One then divides by nine and examines the remainder. Unlike the Pythagorean systems, the number one does not always win. One beats all other odd numbers and loses to all evens. The remaining numbers are examined in successive paragraphs. The chapter then concludes abruptly: "End of the war play, may the Lord put to shame my enemies.

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<sup>22</sup> Manzalaoui, however, cautions against this attribution in his edition of nine English versions of the *Secreta* (1977: xiv) and in other publications (e.g. 1974).



Amen, Amen, Selah for evermore” (799). The importance of names provides a faint link to the *Tractat de prenoscation*.

Without straying too far from the Iberian context, a look at one of the fourteenth century English versions of the *Secreta secretorum* further illustrates how many different forms of numerical prognostication have built up in the tradition. *Certejne Rewoles of Phisnomy* contains only the physiognomy and onomancy sections of the *Secreta secretorum*.<sup>23</sup> Here we find several different associations of numbers to the English alphabet, each with a specific purpose. First we have a system for calculating the names of two warriors or generals, like the one we find in the Hebrew text Gaster edited (Ed. Manzalaoui 1977: 15). The text advises that the same alphabet may be used to find out whether a man will overcome an illness. In this case, the battle pits the man against the moon. One calculates the numerical value of the date upon which the illness began and compares that to the numerical value of the man’s name.

In the same text, we find an alphabet designed to compute whether a man or his wife will die first. This system is probably Pythagorean in origin, based as it is upon the numbers one through nine. In this system one adds the value of both names; if the final numerical value is even, the man will die first. If the value is odd, the woman will die first. The importance of odd and even numbers is crucial to Pythagorean systems of numerology. Subsequently we find an alphabet for finding the planet that rules the fate of any man.

Finally an alphabet similar to the one found in the *Tractat de prenoscation* provides a numerical value for each letter of the alphabet.<sup>24</sup> A mathematical formula, used to compute the birth sign, requires the reader to compute the value of his or her name and mother’s name. One can also use the alphabet to compute the fortune of an entire town.<sup>25</sup> The lunar number twenty-eight constitutes the divisor,

<sup>23</sup> MS Sloane 213, fols. 118<sup>v</sup>–121 (Ed. Manzalaoui 1977).

<sup>24</sup> In this text, the correspondence between numbers and letters is different than in the *Tractat*. The assignments are, in both cases, probably random. A:2. B:21. C:20. D:41. E:5. F:24. G:3. H:20. J:10. K:13. L:42. M:12. N:22. O:13. P:21. Q:20. R:27. S:22. T:41. V:13. X:20. Y:10. Z:7 (Manzalaoui 16–17).

<sup>25</sup> “Wherefor, if þou wilt know by þis Abece any man, als it es saide bifore, take his name and his moderes name, and also if [þ]ou wilt know of any toun by þis Abece, as it es saide bifore, þan take þat townes name and þe name of þe cite Jerusalem, for þat is þe moder of alle tounes, and þan acounte the letters of þo names by þe number of his Abece. And when þo hast alle doune, departe it by eight and twenty . . .” (Manzalaoui 17).

as in the *Tractat de prenostication*. The remainder is used to determine the birth sign, counting around the Zodiac also as in the *Tractat de prenostication*. This text ends abruptly here, and no account of the twelve signs follows.

Our treatment of the four principle traditions of divination by numerology helps appreciate the age of the sources for the *Tractat de prenostication*. Its survival bears witness to early numerological forms of prognostication that the Latin West inherited from its Greco-Roman past in addition to contributions from the Arabic traditions, imported from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. This survey also demonstrates how easily astrological divination was grafted onto other number-based systems of prognostication to create the hybrid systems of the Hermetic corpus and the *Experimentarius*. These prognostic devices, an early blend of science and magic, provided a way of understanding the mysteries of the natural world. The Catalan *Tractat de prenostication* belongs to this accretive tradition, participating to some degree in all of these forms of prognostication, although it is not identical to any one of them. It is unlikely that we will ever uncover the exact sources for our Catalan text as so much of the original material has been lost.

#### D. *Gematria*

The Jewish tradition of gematria provides another method of numerical prognostication wholly independent from the Arabic and Greek materials we have just explored. Gematria is a practical branch of the Jewish Cabbala, a mystical approach to understanding and interpreting sacred scripture. Gematria is the device by which letters and numbers are associated and the numerical value of words computed, as we observed with onomancy and other forms of numerology. Not all forms of Cabbala make use of gematria, and the practice does not bear directly upon the *Tractat de prenostication*. However no discussion of the prognostic sciences in Catalonia (or anywhere else in Spain for that matter) would be complete without a brief mention. Beaujouan contends that Jewish mysticism played an important role in the revalorization of the occult sciences in fifteenth century Catalonia (36–7).

The most important text of the Cabbala, the *Zohar* or *Book of*

*Splendor*,<sup>26</sup> was born in Jewish Spain and established the kind of authority usually reserved for the *Bible* or *Talmud*. The author of the *Zohar*, purportedly Rabbi Moses de León (d. 1305), was one of the most important Spanish Cabbalists, and his work flourished from about 1500 to 1800. Afterwards the *Zohar* disappeared from the consciousness of the masses until experiencing a recent revival (Scholem 7).

Catalonia played a particularly important role in the diffusion of Cabbala. Moses ben Nahman or Nahmanides (1194–1270) founded a school of Cabbala in Girona. Known as Bonastruç Ça Porta in Catalan, Nahmanides practiced medicine as well as theology. According to Tryon-Montalembert and Hruby, Nahmanides applied mysticism directly to sacred scripture, mostly notably in his studies of the Pentateuch (1974: 48). The pogroms of 1391, carried out brutally in Girona and Barcelona, brought a swift end to the flowering of Jewish Biblical scholarship (Beaujouan 13).

Astrological prognostication receives the same official condemnation in Jewish theology that it finds in Christian orthodoxy. Glazerson provides many examples of this prohibition in Jewish law books. For example, he observes that the *Code of Jewish Law* forbids the consultation of one's astrological forecast (1). Although such condemnation is also found in the *Zohar*, astrological symbolism finds some resonance in Jewish mysticism. The concern that astrological influences not eclipse human free will is also similar to the Christian tradition. Nahmanides wrote, “. . . [T]he Jew, through the power of his choice and through his walking in the way of the Torah, may rise above the astrological influences” (in Glazerson 2). This sounds much like the Ptolemaic adage “homo sapiens dominabitur astris” we find in Christian defenses of astrology and in our Catalan *Tractat de prenostication*.

Gematria is different form the other forms of numerology both in scope and in function. Whereas other forms of numerology only treat the value of names, Hebrew scholars use gematria to calculate the value of all words. According to Jewish mysticism, every phrase in the Torah has a hidden meaning. Gematria is the key to finding that meaning in numerical permutations. The *tsérîf* is the study of

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<sup>26</sup> The work has been translated into many languages; the number of editions is legion. See, for example, Moses de León (1997; 1987; 1983) in the references. For a collection of studies on the *Zohar*, see Liebes (1993).

the effects of these permutations. The *notarikon* collects new words formed from the initial or final words of verses of scripture (Tryon-Montalembert and Hruby 92). Although some Cabbalists deny the importance of gematria, others, for example Abraham Abulafia,<sup>27</sup> make such extensive use of it that their work is virtually impenetrable without a thorough understanding of the science.

The Christian equivalent of gematria and Cabbala is found in Gnostic scholarship, Neo-Platonic approaches to theology, and Pythagorean mathematics. Christian mystics also applied numerology to the study of sacred scripture. In fact Swietlicki applies the term “Christian Cabbala” to her study of the mystics Luis de León, Teresa de Jesús, and Juan de la Cruz (1986). François Secret uses a similar label in his approach (1964). Prior to the diaspora of 1492 and even afterwards, Spanish Christians were influenced by Cabbalistic symbolism and incorporated it into their scholarship. We find this particularly in treatments of the names of God by Arnau de Vilanova. Ramon Llull was also interested in the value of words, and this figures prominently in the development of his “art” or logic-machine.

It is tempting to search for traces of gematria in the *Tractat de prenostication* since it is based on numbers. Certainly there were many important Jewish centers of learning in Catalunya (e.g. Barcelona, Girona, Besalú), and one might expect to find some resonance. However one finds no specific influence of Jewish mysticism in the text. The numerical apparatus, alphabet, and other symbols used in the *Tractat de prenostication* are different than in the Jewish tradition of gematria. Daniel Abrams, who has studied Hebrew sources for numerology in Spain, explains that gematria’s influence is rare in Catalonia and had a “strong but limited influence on a number of figures in Castile” (95).

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<sup>27</sup> Abraham Abulafia (1240–1292) was another outstanding Spanish Cabbalist, famous for his attempt to convert the Roman Catholic Pope to Jewish mysticism. He was condemned to burn for this feat. However the Pope died unexpectedly, and Abulafia managed to escape. His most important work, *Séfer ha-Tséruף*, treats word-number symbolism. He was apparently not well understood by other Cabbalists (Tryon-Montalembert and Hruby 48–49).

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE PRESENT EDITION

Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh.

*Ecclesiastes* 12:12

#### A. *Known Editions of the Tractat*

The Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona houses the only extant copy of the *Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens*, which bears the catalogue signature Esp. 6–8°. The catalogue of incunables at the Biblioteca Colombina (Colombine Library) in Seville lists another copy of the *Tractat* (Álvarez Seisdedos 64), but the work has been reported missing (BITECA). These are the only documented copies of the text, and neither bears any indication of authorship, printer, or place of publication. We refer to the copy in Barcelona as B and the one missing from the Colombine Library as S.

Based on the limited documentation we have for S, it may represent a different edition of the work. The handwritten *registrum*<sup>1</sup> of books in the Colombine Library contains the first few words of the incipit and explicit of both sections of the work. Although the transcription is possibly corrupt, there are slight variations between S and B:

Tratado en catalan de la vida de los hombres segon los sinos y planetas. I. Aquest es lo libre .D. principi est dit. Item alius .I. diuen los philosophs .D. amichs amen deo gratias. costo 6 mrs. en Lerida año de 1512 por Junio est in qro. (entry 3858).

The second section of B begins differently: “Segueixan se altres prenostichs generals als quals los homens son naturalament subjectas segons sentència de philosophs” (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup> Made available in facsimile form by Archer Huntington (1905; Rprt. 1967).

Álvarez Seisdedos notes that the first folio of S was blank as in B. He also reports that the typeface is gothic and 31 lines fill a page. S contains two quires, signed A and B, and bears no indication of author, date, or place of publication. B contains two quires and also lacks any colophon or printer's device. However S supposedly contained a total of ten unnumbered folios rather than the twelve in B (Álvarez Seisdedos 7: 64). S is possibly incomplete, although neither the Colombine *registrum* nor Álvarez Seisdedos mentions this. Neither does Álvarez Seisdedos mention other details of the format, such as the number of lines on an average page. The variations in the incipit for section two and the foliation suggest two different traditions; however further archival evidence is necessary to substantiate this claim.

### B. *Physical Description of "B"*

Edition B, the object of our study, measures 202 mm in length, 123 mm in width, and is 8 mm thick. The work has been recently rebound in brown leather with a gold border stamped on the outside and inside covers. The leaves have been gilded as well. The inside front cover bears the *ex libris* of Santiago Espona i Brunet (1888–1958), the Catalan bibliophile who previously owned the work. The incunable contains twelve unnumbered folios protected by five guard sheets. The guard sheets were added when the work was rebound. The first folio is blank, and the work begins on 2<sup>r</sup>. There is no foliation in B. Pagination has been recently hand-written in pencil in the upper right hand corner of each page. The paper is high quality, and there are no stains. The book is in excellent condition except for fol. 12, which was torn and subsequently repaired. The repair was done carefully, and no text was lost or damaged.

The text box measures 77 × 140 mm. The distance from the text box to the top of the page varies from 10–20 mm because the text box, in several cases (e.g. fol. 6<sup>r</sup>), was printed unevenly. A blank space has been left for an initial on folio 2<sup>r</sup>. The work contains two quires, signed “a” and “b”. Bohigas was the first to note an unusual pattern in the signatures, which he also observed in an edition of the *Tractat sobre els novíssims* attributed to Eiximenis:

En ambos impresos los cuadernos constan de ocho hojas y sólo están signados los folios 1 y 3 de cada cuaderno, el primero con el exponente 1 y el otro con el 2. De este modo con el exponente 1 se agru-

pan los folios 1, 2, 7 y 8 del cuaderno, y con el 2 los folios 3, 4, 5 y 6. Esta manera singular de signar los cuadernos induce a pensar que cada uno de ellos se compone de dos medias hojas de papel, que se imprimió separadamente (1965a: 96).

This assertion is not entirely accurate for the *Tractat*, which contains twelve folios. Bohigas had already provided the correct collation in his first article on the work (1961: 59). In his original catalogue of Espona i Brunet's legacy, Bohigas had incorrectly listed the *Tractat* among other printed works, non-incunable (1960).

The quires are mostly likely formed from a single folio divided into fourths and a half folio divided in two. The half folio was inserted into the quarter folio so that the first quire contains leaves 1, 2, 5, and 6 and the second contains leaves 3 and 4. Folio 3<sup>r</sup> bears the catchword "aii" probably to indicate that it is the second fold in the quire.

There is no color in B. A single gothic typeface is used throughout the text, and twenty lines measure 89 mm. The capital "M" shares features of M42 and M49 in Haebler's *Tipenrepertorium* (1968). Bohigas originally classified the type as M42 89 mm but later decided for M49 (1961; 1965; 1965a). The capital 'M' used in the *Tractat* shares features of both of these prototypes. The collation and typeface led Bohigas to conclude that the *Tractat de prenosticacion* and the anonymous *Tractat sobre els novíssims* (pseudo-Eiximenis), which it resembles, both derive from the same printing tradition.

### C. Contents, Divisions, and Sources

The *Tractat* is composed of two distinct parts: an astro-numerological treatise and a brief essay on judicial astrology, which was appended as an apology for the first section. This addendum contains a collection of astrological aphorisms and Biblical justification for the practice of astrology. The entry for S in the *registrum* of books in the Colombine library offers some evidence that the sections were interpreted as two separate works during the sixteenth century. The Colombine *registrum* lists the second part as *item alius* and records its incipit and explicit separately (entry 3858). The two items were intended to be read together because the second section refers to the methodology used in part one, providing examples and theoretical justification for it.

The bipartite structure is confirmed by the use of explicits or short concluding passages. We find the first conclusion at the end of section one. Here the text explains the manners in which the astro-numerological apparatus might fail. Section two concludes with the words “E aquestas cosas són dels secrets de natura concordés ab la sciència theological”. The final paragraph offers another conclusion, the explicit of the entire work, “E aquests prenòstichs són trets dels secrets dels philòsophs . . .” (fol. 12<sup>r</sup>). These concluding paragraphs mark the boundaries of the sections of the text.

The astro-numerological treatise in section one itself has two subparts, although no divisions are indicated in the text. Part one introduces the method of prognostication. It fills the recto and verso side of a single folio. The incipit begins “Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens segons los signes e planetas celestials e propietats lurs demonstren” (fol. 2<sup>r</sup>). Following the introduction, the text describes a method for determining the astrological sign by calculating numerical values associated with the letters in the individual’s name and his or her mother’s name. A description of the numerical apparatus follows, accompanied by a chart indicating how to assign numbers to the letters of the Catalan alphabet.

Table 4. Alphanumeric Correspondences in the *Tractat de prenostication*

I	II	III	III	X	XXIII	III	VI	X	XX	II	
A	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	
XII	XXII	II	XXIII	XX	III	XX	VIII	VI	XX	X	VIII
m	n	o	P	q	r	S	t	v	x	y	z

The text also lists the planets and the signs of the zodiac they rule. The section concludes abruptly on folio 2<sup>v</sup>, where we find Venus, Saturn, and their astrological signs missing.

The lacuna is probably the result of an eye-slip on the part of the copyist or typesetter rather than a significant break in the text. The last line reads, “La spera de Jupiter lo signe de Sagitarii e de Capricorni e Aquarii” (fol. 2<sup>v</sup>). With the missing line inserted, the text reads: “La spera de Jupiter lo signe de Sagitarii e [Piscis. La spera de Venus lo signe de Libra e de Taurus. La spera de Saturnus lo signe] de Sagitarii e de Capricorni.”

The correction is based on the standard assignation of signs to



planets found in Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> (*Tetrabiblos* 1.17). The text mentions Ptolemy as a source in the second section, and most of the astrological references in the text follow the Ptolemaic system. In the second part of the work, however, the text incorrectly assigns Taurus to Mars and Venus jointly (fol. 3<sup>v</sup>). The text also breaks with the Ptolemaic tradition in presenting the order of the planets in the first section.

Planetary order indicates an underlying worldview, and each branch of astrology has its own tradition. Section one of the *Tractat* presents the planets in the order of the days of the week, following the Hindu tradition (Tester 166–67). This planetary order (Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn) contrasts with the Ptolemaic system based on presumed distances from the earth in a geocentric universe (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon) (Bouché-Leclercq 107–08; Tester 4). This textual evidence suggests that at least two different sources were brought together.

The second part of section one begins “La planeta de Aries és Mars” (fol. 3<sup>r</sup>). It continues with a description of the physical and character traits typical of those born under each of the twelve signs of the zodiac. The signs are given in the order in which they appear over the horizon, again following Ptolemy. For each sign, there is a section devoted to men and a shorter one devoted to women. The descriptions contain largely stock physiognomy from the Middle Ages such as one finds in the *Secreta secretorum* tradition. Ptolemy discusses the different factors that influence the masculine or feminine nature of the planets (*Tetrabiblos* 3.6). However it is not common in the Middle Ages of the Latin West to find character traits of individuals born under the twelve signs of the zodiac divided by gender; rarely are women mentioned at all.

The first few character descriptions cover approximately one and a half folios each. However the descriptions become shorter so that by the last sign, Pisces, the space allotted to men is only fourteen lines long. The female description extends to a mere eight lines. This may

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<sup>2</sup> Claudius Ptolemy (floruit 100–178 AD) was the most influential classical source for astrology and astronomy in the Latin West. His *Tetrabiblos* or *Quadrapartitum*, as it is known in Latin, was the “Bible” of astrology for centuries. It was reintroduced into Europe in the twelfth century, when Arabic copies were translated into Latin. The original Greek MSS were not edited until the sixteenth century (Robbins in Ptolemy 1989: x–xiv).

help understand how the book was composed. The printer or compositor cut some sections short as he ran out of space. The concluding paragraphs of each description suggest similar editorial intervention.

The life prediction for each sign of the zodiac concludes with a warning that the individual should pray to or serve a specific saint. The material appears appended because it usually comes out of context to surrounding text and near the end of the concluding paragraph. Furthermore this *caveat* is often corrupt or missing entirely. In four cases, the saints are the same for men and women born under the sign in question. In eight cases the advice for men and women is different. Twice the woman's saint is missing (Scorpio and Sagittarius), and there are other anomalies.

Women born under Gemini are told to serve the Holy Trinity rather than a specific saint. Women born under Virgo are advised to serve the “gloriosas verges”, perhaps a reference to early virgin martyrs. The section for women born under Taurus appears to conclude with the words “. . . seruesca a nostro senyor Déu. E viurà beneuenturadament . . .” (fol. 4<sup>v</sup>). However the editor or typesetter seems to have changed his mind and added a few additional remarks and another concluding passage with slightly different advice, “e seruesca la gloriosa verge Maria e obuierà als perills” (fol. 4<sup>r</sup>). Finally women born under Libra are so unfortunate that the text merely advises the reader to offer a candle for their souls on All Saints Day (fol. 7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>r</sup>).

In addition to being appended, the advice that individuals should pray to certain saints does not appear in any way related to the personality traits described. Neither do the saints' days coincide in the calendar year with the astrological signs they are to protect. For example, males born under Capricorn are told to serve Saint John the Baptist. Capricorn is a winter sign, ruled by the cold planet Saturn, whereas Saint John the Baptist falls on June 24. Because the descriptions are shorter for women than men and the omissions come towards the end of the work, the typesetter was probably attempting to save space. However the shorter sections for women also reflect the misogyny typical of the time. In section one, the author tells us he will begin with men because they are nobler (fol. 3<sup>r</sup>). The presence of the saints also serves to lend religious support to the life predictions.

Section one of the *Tractat* concludes on fol. 10<sup>v</sup> with some advice on how to avoid making errors. We are told that the apparatus can

only fail in three ways. One must be sure to get the correct names for the individuals in question. One should also take care to spell the names correctly; finally one must avoid errors in addition or division. The text concludes with a warning that whoever uses the apparatus must carefully follow the instructions provided at the beginning.

The original source for the astro-numerological treatise remains unknown. Numerical systems for determining the birth sign existed in Europe from at least the ninth century. By the twelfth century, classical sources were slowly recovered and brought into the Latin West through Arabic translation. Arabic, Greek, and Hebrew sources are all rife with number symbolism. The tradition is accretive, however, and each new source borrows and reinterprets freely whatever previous material was available. For this reason lines of transmission are difficult to establish with certainty.

Manuscript evidence does demonstrate some of the source material available in Catalonia throughout the fifteenth century. In chapter 2, we examined a codex dubbed *Tencar*, which constitutes the first summary of astrological material known in Catalan. The text dates from the mid-fifteenth century (Vela Palomares 1997: 188–191). The *Tencar* texts incorporate a combination of judicial and medical astrology and talismanic magic. The *Tractat*, although based on a different system of prognostication, falls within the same tradition. The third part of Vela Palomares's miscellany draws on Abū Mas'har (787–886 AD). His direct influences are Persian, Greek (Neo-Platonic), and Indian (Vela Palomares 1997: 143–44). A minor treatise, attributed to Abū Mas'har, contains an astro-numerological apparatus similar to the one found in the *Tractat de prenostication* (Faddegon 1928).

In contrast to the pseudo-Abū Mas'har, where 1212 is the constant, the number twenty-eight figures prominently in the *Tractat de prenostication*. Like the order of planets alluded to in the first part of the *Tractat*, the choice of this number may derive from the Indian system of astrology. Indian astrologers based their calculations on a lunar calendar, with twenty-eight or twenty-nine houses. This system found its way into Arabic texts on prognostication as well:

Many Arabian astrologers adopted, as part of the *electiones*, the Indian system of twenty-eight lunar mansions, which afforded an opportunity for more minute calculations than that of the twelve houses . . . This system of lunar mansions could easily serve for magical purposes, and seems to have been in bad odor with Church writers. Wedel (54, note 2)

From a Pythagorean standpoint, twenty-eight is a perfect number because it is the sum of its divisors: 1, 2, 4, 7, and 14. The use of this number also links the text to the Arabic tradition, which preserves Indian astrological notions (Vela Palomares 1997: 143).

The second section of the work begins: “Seguexan se altres prenostics generals als quals los homens són naturalment subiectas segons sentència de philosophs.” The explicit for this section and the entire work appears on fol. 12<sup>r</sup> with this *caveat*:

E aquests prenostichs són trets dels secrets dels philosophs, los quals tu, lector, si'ls entendràs no deurias obrir ne menys demostrar per tal que dels homens indoctes per lur falsa e indocte experienca no vingan en derrisió. Ne deurian esser donats si no a carissims e doctes amichs. Amen. Deo gracias.

The section contains a mix of astrological aphorisms and Biblical references. The text mentions Ptolemy, Pythagoras, St. Gregory the Great, and the Bible. Although the *Tractat* also refers to talismanic magic and draws on Arabic sources, none are cited.

The section opens by relating the number of letters in a person's name to whether the individual is born under the head, body, or tail of an astrological sign. Classical sources on astrology categorize the signs of the zodiac in a number of ways. One method classifies the signs by their nature (masculine or feminine), their position (sitting or standing), whether the signs “love” or “hate” one another, etc. Ptolemy dismissed the naïvité of such descriptions in favor of a classification scheme based purely on the geometric relationships among the constellations (Bouché-Leclercq 152). The *Tractat de prenostication* asserts that one can be born under the “head”, “body”, or “tail” of a given sign and that, furthermore, this determines the number of letters one will have in his or her given name.

The source for this passage is not clear. Ptolemy mentions that the individual stars within a constellation may have influences similar to those of the five planets. For example, the stars in the head of Aries exert a power similar to Mars and Saturn. Those in the mouth act like Mercury with a hint of Saturn, while those in the hind leg operate like Mars and those in the tail like Venus (*Tetrabiblos* 1.9). Ptolemy does not appear altogether convinced by the argument, which he attributes to his ancient predecessors. Bouché-Leclercq believes this division of the astrological signs into parts attenuates the overall power of the sign in question (132, note 1).

Bouché-Leclercq attributes the division of astrological signs to the less scientific and more esoteric branches of astrological magic. He believes minor astrologists copied the drawings of the signs found in Manilius.<sup>3</sup> These drawings were incorrect and subsequently modified and subdivided by other astrologers. Some of the material in section two of the *Tractat de Prenostication* probably draws on a minor text on astrological magic that was subsequently lost. The origin for material is Arabic. The references to talismanic magic, the order of the planets, and the use of the lunar number 28—taken together—confirm this suspicion.

Whatever its origin, the notion that the position of the stars influences the number of letters in one's name is a circular one, and it undermines the argument developed in the first section. Either the numerical value of the names determines the birth sign, as in section one, or the birth sign determines the number of letters in one's name, as in section two. This confusion provides further evidence that more than one primary source was used. To determine whether one is born under the head, body, or tail of a given sign, one would need some system of natal astrology capable of generating a birth chart. Numerical systems of determining the birth sign based on the value of names were designed to provide a simpler method that did not depend upon such specialized knowledge.

The text does not provide references to support the claim that the letters in one's name determines the birth sign. However the *Tractat* offers examples of Catalan names that demonstrate the principle. Supposedly if the mother and son are both born under the *cap*, or head of the sign, they will have the same number of letters in their given names. The text provides *Johan* and *Leona* as examples. The reader is warned that those who are born in the head of an astrological sign will be weak and poor (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>).

Those born in the *coha* or tail of the sign will have more letters in their name than their mother. *Arnould* and *Guine* serve as examples in this case. Curiously, the author borrows another astrological term here and states that those born under a retrograde constellation will be poor and unfortunate (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>). This reference comes

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<sup>3</sup> Manilius, one of the fathers of Greco-Roman astrology, built on previous work by Ptolemy. His astrological textbook, written in verse (c. 553 BC), was first edited in the Latin West in 1579 (Bouché-Leclercq x).

entirely out of context as it derives from traditional natal astrology.<sup>4</sup> Finally if the mother's name has more letters, this means she is born in the *ventre* or belly of the sign. This is the most favored position, as those born in the belly of a sign will be prosperous throughout their lives (11<sup>v</sup>). There is no example for this case.

The paragraphs of the text immediately following this discussion have a precedent in Arabic sources. The text informs us that the upright signs or *signes drets* will always be dominant: Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius. *Signes prostrats*, prostrate signs, are by nature weak: Capricorn, Aquarius, Piscis, Aries, Taurus, and Gemini (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>). A selection from the *Libre appellat Tencar* uses the same Catalan terminology as we find here. Vela Palomares cites the *Elements of Astrology* by Al-Bīrūnī<sup>5</sup> as a possible source (1997: 100).

Having provided some scientific authority, the text concludes with Biblical and patristic citations in support of prognostication. These final paragraphs function as an apology, lending theological authority to the material the text exposes. Even the Neoplatonic and humanistic texts on astrology dating from the Italian Renaissance are full of such theological apologies. The Renaissance mage, Marsilio Ficino, begins his third book of *De vita* on celestial influence and astrological magic with this justification: "In omnibus quae hic aut alibi a me tractantur, tantum assertum esse volo, quantum ab ecclesia comprobatur" (1989: 240).

Our text refutes the two most important theological critiques of astrology, magic, and other forms of prognostication. The notion that stars, fate, or numbers control one's destiny and that the individual is powerless to change his fate is the most severe breach with Christian theology. The second charge of heresy is that prognostication places the role of nature above God, thus subverting divine authority. Any system of prognostication, to be acceptable in a Christian framework, must not infringe on divine order or impede the individual from freely choosing to follow or to reject this order.

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<sup>4</sup> Planets that appear to move backwards were said to be in retrograde. This reverse movement was considered a negative omen. The effect is an optical illusion produced by the individual planets' differing orbits around the sun. Believing that the universe was geocentric, the ancients needed a complex system of epicycles to explain this movement. See Bouché-Leclercq (110–121).

<sup>5</sup> Al-Bīrūnī (*floruit* 1000 AD) was one of the most influential astronomers to write in Classical Arabic, although he also produced works on judicial astrology and astrological magic.

The text provides a solution to both of these problems, first through an “escape clause” to allow room for the exercise of free will. The problem of free will is most clearly resolved with the aphorism “lo home savi senoragarà els astres” (fol. 12<sup>r</sup>). This is a Catalan translation of the old saw “homo sapiens dominabitur astris”, attributed to Ptolemy. The text expands on the notion that the “wise man will rule the stars” with this gloss:

Així, emperò, com la natural disposició ha donats e dona infortunis segons *que* demont és dit, usant de molta saulesa per obuiar a dits astres e infortunis e aquells subiugar ho fugir ha volguda demostrar la manera e medicina per *aquells* squiuar (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>).

Magic, the text explains, is a useful way to thwart the negative influence of the stars.

In its most common form, astrological magic is channeled through talismans, amulets, precious gems, and plants. Prayers and other Christian incantations were thought to increase the effect. The text offers the *Libre de la propietat de las cosas* as a source, undoubtedly a reference to the *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus. This miscellany of popular science was written in the thirteenth century, and it immediately became a “best-seller”. The first Spanish translation was produced by Heinrich Mayer in Toulouse, 1494. There is no evidence that a Catalan edition of this work existed, although the *Tracat* refers to it in Catalan. The use of objects found in nature forms a part of white magic (See chapter 2, section A). This sort of magic is a precursor for natural science because it seeks to manipulate the forces of nature without appeal to superior beings or demons. The use of talismans is less clear, and the debate about its use fills many Renaissance volumes (e.g. book three of Ficino’s *De vita libri tres* and Torrella’s *De imaginibus astrologicis*).<sup>6</sup>

The second section concludes by emphasizing God’s power over the stars, a position supported by Biblical citations. The text first refers to Psalm 74, which states that God created the sun and moon to rule day and night. God is in control of the stars and offers them as signposts or warnings. St. Gregory’s homily on Matthew 2 explains the role of the stars in greater detail. This chapter of the Bible

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<sup>6</sup> For an excellent edition of *De vita*, see Kaske and Clark (Ficino 1989). No modern edition of Torrella exists. For some discussion of the work and extensive quotations from the original, see Ratzoll (1991).

created problems for the Church in the Middle Ages because it explains how an especially bright star appeared in the heavens to announce the birth of Christ and guide the wise men to Bethlehem.

The original Gregorian homily is a frontal attack against all forms of prognostication. However the *Tractat* subverts the homily and uses it to justify the practice of prognostication. St. Gregory affirms that God chose a star to announce Christ's birth because the gentiles would not have been capable of understanding a message delivered by an angel (1958: 571). St. Gregory further notes that, according to Matthew 2, the star rose in the heavens slowly until it reached Bethlehem, where it stopped over Christ's birthplace. He offers this as proof that the star was controlled by Christ and followed Him. In no way did Christ follow a destiny previously marked for Him in the stars.<sup>7</sup>

But if we meditate upon the words of the gospel, in which of this very star it is said: until, arriving above the child's location, it stopped. Thus, it was not the child who hastened to the star, but the star that hastened to the child. To be sure, the star was not the child's destiny, rather the newborn child was the destiny of the star [translation mine].

The text glosses this passage: "Lo home no va al astre mes lo astre va al infant nat" (12<sup>r</sup>). However, instead of using it against astrology, the *Tractat* offers the passage as proof that prognostication is not in disaccord with Christian theology.<sup>8</sup> God created the sun and moon to rule over day and night. These physical phenomena help early scientists mark time, forecast the weather, predict the change of seasons, and even develop the ecclesiastical calendar.

Only indirectly can the stars can influence human beings, in as much as they transmit God's divine influence. The text uses Psalm 136 to demonstrate that the stars do indeed transmit this influence, although humankind can use prayer and magic to escape harmful influences of the stars. The passage reads, "Perque és manifest que

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<sup>7</sup> "Sed si euangelii verba pensamus: quibus de eadem stella dicitur: usque dum veniens staret supra ubi erat puer. Dum non puer ad stellam: sed stella ad puerum cucurrit. Si dici liceat, non stella fatum pueri: sed fatus stelle is qui apparuit puer fuit." (*Pastoralis sancti Gregorii pape* 1493: fols. 50<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>, transcription mine).

<sup>8</sup> Cecco d'Ascoli was burned at the stake in 1327 for predicting Christ's birth by means of the stars. In part, the heresy lay in the claim that Christ's life was subject to the star or a constellation containing the star that announced his birth in Matthew 2 (Thorndike 4: 322).



lo cors humà és regit per los cosors sobre celestials per ordinació de Déu, influints en los terranals axí com diu lo psalmista” (12<sup>r</sup>). Psalm 135 briefly refers to the power of the sun, moon, and lesser celestial bodies. The *Tractat* implies that prognostication is a harmless manner for understanding God’s will by examining the world He created.

A close reading reveals that the justification for astrology as exposed here is akin to the Neoplatonic worldview we find fully developed and full of nuance in the Italian Renaissance. In Neoplatonic language, everything in the natural world is sentient. The *anima mundi* or world soul surrounds and infuses all of nature, which in turn is composed of lesser forces. The text licenses this sort of animism directly by stating that nature disposes certain things such that man may not demand further explanation (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>).<sup>9</sup>

In Renaissance cosmology, the planets themselves are living beings, lesser life forces (see chapter 1, section A). It is only natural that superior celestial forces influence inferior earthly ones. Careful use of Biblical and patristic sources justifies this cosmology, for God is the ultimate spiritual force. The human soul is a platonic middle term, mediating earthly and celestial forces. Only humankind has direct access to God through prayer and supplication and to lesser spirits through natural magic and prognostication.

This short section also challenges the modern reader because it brings together many pieces of prognostic science without an apparent logical order. Scholars have dismissed works of prognostication as “fossilized mumbo-jumbo” for this reason (Tester 97). Far from being a fossilized relic, the *Tractat de prenostication* helps scholars understand the state of the prognostic arts in the late Middle Ages and its role in popular culture. The contents found in section two of the *Tractat* demonstrate, for example, that both standard texts and esoteric Arabic material had been sufficiently absorbed into the culture to influence the popular mind.

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<sup>9</sup> There are of course two worldviews at work here. The notion that man should not delve too deeply into the inner workings of nature is medieval. Too much curiosity borders on the sin of *vanitas*. As St. Augustine puts it, “Let not man say ‘What is this? Why is that?’ Let him not say it, let him not say it; for he is man” (*Confessiones* 7.6.10). This view contrasts neatly with the aphorism, “The wise man will rule the stars”, also found in the text.

The need to support or refute theories of prognostication with Biblical passages also demonstrates that astrology and astrological magic continued to be taken seriously. That the passages come to us in a jumbled or confused manner only strengthens the claim that they were common currency and could be easily recycled and reused on an *ad hoc* basis. The *Tractat de prenostication* uses commonplaces of astrology from several traditions to justify an entirely different system of prognostication based on numerology and numerological symbolism. All of this is placed in the framework of Christian theology in a unique manner.

The defense of astrology outlined in the second half of the *Tractat de prenostication* helps us locate the text historically. The lines of argumentation used there foreshadow the cultural revolution that would bring a revalorization of magic and experimental science in the Renaissance. Italian astrologers such as Marsilio Ficino first work out this Neoplatonic and humanistic cosmology in the late fifteenth century. Garin finds this new worldview fully developed in the sixteenth century and uses Tommaso Campanella to sum up the three key propositions of this system:

1. All sciences serve magic in as much as any practical art seeks to transform or control nature.
2. The mystery of the mage disappears as science advances.
3. Despite the second proposition, the deepest mysteries are still shrouded in magic. (1984: 199–216)

The *Tractat* illustrates the growing acceptance of magic and its incorporation into popular culture in a number of ways. First it makes a magical or supernatural system accessible in the vernacular language. It demystifies the astro-numerological system by hinting that prognostication, although powerful, is just another means for understanding nature. God controls the natural world and provides signs, in the form of the stars, to guide and shape humankind. The wise man, through his ingenuity, the use of magic, and other forms of applied science, controls the stars. However magic and applied science have their limits, and God's mysteries remain intact. As the text asserts, some things can never be known: "la qual cosa es causada per la disposició de natura, disposant las cosas mundanals per què algú no pot saber ho demanar més larga rahó" (11<sup>v</sup>).

#### D. *Linguistic Features and Orthography*

Early incunables often present a palimpsest effect whereby close inspection reveals multiple layers of language that may help distinguish the language of the edition from that of its source material. The *Tractat de prenostication* is written in a simple, colloquial style with a patina of learned vocabulary and syntactic forms. The text presents at least three layers of accretion: archaisms, colloquial dialect features, and learned rhetorical and stylistic devices. Archaic vocabulary items and grammatical forms reflect earlier source material. Colloquial vocabulary, the leveling of atonic /a/ and /e/, and the simple style portray the dialect of the editor. Finally there is evidence of the humanistic style imported from Italian models in the late fifteenth century.

Examination of the typeface and layout of the incunable reveal that the edition was produced in the late fifteenth century. The dialect features, typical of eastern varieties of Catalan from the late fifteenth century, support this conclusion. Since humanistic rhetoric was not fully manifest until this time, we can conclude further that the Latinate style and the colloquial dialect are coeval. The author or editor, who may have been the same person, most likely incorporated a new style of prose that he had seen in other texts.

The ornate style of the humanists is not well integrated; the effect is similar to that produced when a young writer abuses the thesaurus or the dictionary. The subject-verb inversions are forced, and the Latinate vocabulary seems carelessly appended. In any case, the humanistic program arrived late to Catalonia, and is perhaps first manifest in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (Nadal and Prats 2: 392). King Alfons IV of Catalonia (i.e. Alfons V of Aragon, 1416–1458) patronized the arts, and under his care Catalan letters experienced a short-lived rebirth. Petrarch and Dante were both known in Catalonia in the fifteenth century, and their influence on Catalan letters has been studied extensively elsewhere (Rubió i Balaguer 1984–86, 1: 283–299).

By the end of the fifteenth century, the fight against the vulgar languages had been lost. The later humanists changed the course of their program, and tried to dignify the common speech by fixing orthography and grammatical standards, normally following Latin models (Nadal and Prats 2: 349). The first grammars and style manuals of European languages date from the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries. Nebrija's 1492 grammar of Spanish was the first of these projects.

The *Tractat* shows many examples of humanistic influence. Most notably, we find many instances of inversion and verb final constructions: *Lo qual signe si diligentment quolseuol experimentador inuestigar volrà; E aquell signe, a tu demostrat per dit nombre, pèndràs; Entre auariciosos res no conseruarà*, etc. There are a few instances of embedded sentence structures:

Axi, emperó, com la natural disposició ha donats e dona infortunis segons *que* demont és dit, vsant de molta saulesa per obuïar a dits astres e infortunis e aquells subiugar ho fugir, ha volguda demostrar la manera e medicina per *aquells* squiuar. (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>)

These ornate constructions contrast with the endless stacks of compound sentences joined by *e* or *et*, a feature of medieval prose.

Since the invention of printing, Catalan was one of the most conservative and uniform early Romance languages (Milà Segarra in Nadal and Prats 2: 567). There were many minor *Nebrijas* in the Catalan tradition; however normalization of the language was not complete until the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. By the fifteenth century however, the most important linguistic processes had been complete, and we can observe the beginnings of this normalization in the *Tractat*.

The text is surprisingly conservative in orthography. The letter “v” is used to represent the vowel /u/ (*vnt, vsant*) or the labial /b/ (*viurà; vendrà*). The grapheme “u” regularly represents a semi-vowel /w/ (*haurà*) or the fricative /β/ (*quolseuol, seruesca*). There is some variation in the use of “e” and “a”, which reflects a neutralization of these vowels, typical of the dialect used in composing the edition.

In terms of lexical and phonological features, the *Tractat* belongs to a rural eastern Catalan dialect from the late fifteenth century. For example, the text provides evidence for the phonological leveling of atonic /e/ and /a/ < V. L. /a/, /ε/, and /e/, common in this region. The complex process that affected the reflexes of open and close /e/ essentially happened in two phases. The first phase involved the neutralization of the vowels in atonic position. A chain shift then occurred in the tonic series.

Subsequently the closing of /é/ and the opening of /è/ via the transitional vowel /ó/ were set in motion to avoid a near merger

of these vowels. The weak articulation of the vowels and strong articulation of the consonants is typical of eastern Catalan dialects. Compare items such as *optenir* for *obtenir* also present in the *Tractat*, for example. Greater articulatory tension, when applied to the consonants, results in the devoicing of the voiced stops in certain environments. The changes that produced this neutral vowel /ó/ were probably complete by 1000 AD; Rasico demonstrates that the graphemes “e” and “a” were used interchangeably in manuscripts from as early as 854 AD (19).

This neutral vowel /ó/ provided fuel for subsequent changes in the tonic series /é/ and /é/. The first step in this process produced three tonic vowels: /é/ > /é/ and original tokens of /é/ > /ó/. The open vowel /é/ retained its timbre in certain phonetic environments (e.g. before /ð/, /ř/, /r/ + non-labial consonant, /n' r/, and /l/). Finally /ó/ > /é/, a change which was complete by the end of the fourteenth century (Gulsoy 68–9; 96).

These changes are reflected in writing by the confusion of the letters “a” and “e”. The leveling of atonic /a/ and /e/ began first in post-tonic position, evident in verb forms and feminine plurals of adjectives and nouns. The *Tractat* is generally conservative in spelling: 18 cases of *molts*, none of *moltes*; 2 examples of *totes* against 18 of *totas*. Nevertheless one also finds: *cares*, *dies* (6), *donades*, *dones* (2), *per-aules*, *stranyes*, *viandes*. The preference for *dies* is undoubtedly due to the Latin model, which is spelled the same in both languages. We also find an occasional use of “a” to represent “e” as in *anamorat*.

The labialization of /a/ after initial /kw-/ is another dialect feature. Although Catalan traditionally retains /kwa/ (viz. *quatre* < V. L. \*QUATTRU, *qualsevol* < V. L. \*QUALE SI VOLET, *quan* < C. L. QUANDO), some examples of velarization appear in Old Catalan (e.g. *còtre* for *quatre*, *còrt* for *quart*, and *còn* for *quan*) (Gulsoy 240). This development supposes a transitional stage: /kwa/ > /kwo/ > /ko/. Evidence of /kwo/ is found in rural dialects of eastern Catalan, and there are examples in the *Tractat*: *quoseuol*, *quorante/a* (2), *quotra* (3), *quont* (3), *quontas*. Already in the fifteenth century, this pronunciation was considered incorrect and uneducated (Badia i Margarit 1984: 130). Hypercorrection based on Latin models such as *quoniam* may also be at work. A similar process holds for initial /gw-/: /gwa/ > /gwo/ > /go/ as in *guardar* > *gordar* ‘to watch’; ‘to be wary’, the latter form common in the *Tractat de prenostication*.

Several vocabulary items further illustrate the colloquial nature of the text. Normal evolution of FĪDĒLIS produced *feel* in Old Catalan. Later the learned form *fidel* was restored. The dissimilation represented by *fael* and *faeltat*, found throughout the *Tractat*, is typical of eastern Catalan, but may merely be a graphic representation of *feel* (DECat 3: 918–9). One also finds *lauons*, a dialectal form of *llavors* (Cf. Fr. *lors*, Occ. *laors*) < V. L. \*ĪLLĪS HŌRĪS ‘in those hours’. The form in *-ns* was not common until c. 1400–1450 and appears by analogy to other plurals in *-ns*, e.g. *mà/mans* (DECat 5: 112–16). The form *llavons* is found in both central and western dialects today.

The neologism *frement* ‘roaring’ or ‘growling’ < L. FRĒMĒRE ‘growl’, helps to date the *Tractat*. Coromines notes that the item is “. . . molt rar antigament, si bé n’hi ha algú cas espars a la fi de l’edat mitjana”. The first citation is from 1480–1490 (DECat 4: 192–4). Another neologism, *prompte* ‘visible’; ‘manifest’ < C. L. PRŌMPTUS ‘idem’ confirms the date of the *Tractat*. The first reliable documentation is from Eiximenis, *Llibre de les dones*, late fifteenth century (DECat 6: 824).

Archaisms in the *Tractat* either reflect earlier source materials or a tendency to imitate older models. Since the stylistic innovations in the text generally follow the Latinate prose of the early humanists, it is unlikely that these older forms were used deliberately to give the text greater authority. They may reflect variants from earlier source materials or manuscript witnesses, now lost. Linguistic relics in the *Tractat* fall into three classes: lexical items, the verb-complement nexus, and split futures.

There are few archaic lexical items in the *Tractat*. The indefinite pronoun *altri* < \*ALTERĪ (dat.) V. L. was common throughout the Middle Ages, but was gradually replaced by *algú* (DECat 1: 237). It is more commonly found after the dative preposition *a*, and may have been somewhat archaizing by the late fifteenth century.

There are a few lexical borrowings in the *Tractat*. One finds *leugier* < \*LEVARIUS, which is documented in the thirteenth century. The standard form is *lleuger*, and the diphthong either represents an earlier stage of language or influence from Occitan (DECat 5: 181). Along the same lines, one finds *falsier*. This form is also found in Eiximenis, but it is not common thereafter (Alcover and Moll 5: 716). Finally one finds *antós*, not documented in DECat or Alcover and Moll. The word may be a borrowing from Provençal, meaning ‘shameful’ or ‘dishonorable’. However the sense is ‘stubborn’ or ‘head-

strong', so the term may be a neologism built upon Catalan *entost* and *entost de* 'instead of'; 'as opposed to' (DECat 3: 393). The verb *antostar* 'to oppose' < L. ANTE + OBSTARE may also provide some additional influence (DECat 5: 403). Since the majority of the lexical and phonological features of the *Tractat* belong to eastern varieties of Catalan, we can conclude that these Franco-Provençal borrowings represent an earlier stage of the language. Many Franco-Provençal words derive from the *troubador* poetic tradition from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The pronoun-object complement nexus also represents an earlier stage of the language. Customarily the object complements precede their verbs: *Après ly morrà son pare; E la terça muller lo soterrarà*. In periphrastic constructions, one finds instances where the complement is placed between the conjugated verb and the infinitive: *Yo desig ho saber* (Moll 232). Rarely does one find the complement placed between the verb and the past participle. The *Tractat* employs this construction, especially with the indirect complement: *serà lli donada, seran lli donats*. One also finds a rare case in which the complement follows the conjugated verb: *E après peruindrà ly la heretat del pare e mare*. These constructions may also represent an earlier stage of the language. They may also fit under the rubric of Latinizing influence discussed previously.

### E. Provenance

Printed works of the incunable period (pre-1500) rarely included title pages nor did they customarily bear printer's marks. About two-thirds of the incunables catalogued to date have some form of colophon at the end, a device copied directly from medieval manuscripts (Geldner 188). The colophon, in theory, registers important information about the origin of the work. Nevertheless some incunables merely repeat information from the manuscript colophon or another edition. Additionally, many incunables with a colophon fail to record such key data as the author, printer/editor, place, or date of publication.<sup>10</sup> The *Tractat* and other popular works of prognostication

<sup>10</sup> Odriozola (1975; 1976) uses the term "proto-incunables" to refer to works printed before 1479 and which do not contain foliation or signatures.

were not designed to be masterpieces of scholarship and do not show the care taken in producing editions of more learned works.

The *Tractat*, like many Spanish and Catalan incunables, has no colophon or device to indicate the origin of the work. Scholars of incunables, during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, used features of the typeface and watermarks in the paper to identify the printer and place of publication, especially in difficult cases. Both of these approaches are helpful, but they are fraught with theoretical problems and do not usually produce a satisfactory result by themselves. A close study of the incunable including archival records, internal historical evidence, and linguistic clues is necessary to understand the work's origin and its place in history.

Pere Bohigas was the first to describe and classify the B edition of the *Tractat*, which he labeled “un breu tractat astrològic” (1965: 77). The work appeared during Bohigas's tenure as archivist at the Diputació de Barcelona. The late Sr. Santiago Espona i Brunet (1888–1958) donated his library of manuscripts and incunables to the Catalan government for its library. Bohigas undertook to classify and describe the materials Espona had donated (1960).

Bohigas remarked that Espona lived in relative obscurity and did not appear often in public (1960: 6). He seemed to collect works that were of exceptional quality, rarity, or which were unique copies. The collection contained eleven manuscripts, all books of hours. Additionally there were forty incunables on virtually every topic imaginable and a vast array of other works printed from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. Espona collected works in many languages, but Latin, Catalan, and Spanish predominate. Bohigas speculates that Espona built his collection especially from works not housed in public libraries so that his legacy would be more useful (1960: 6).

No previous catalogues of Spanish incunables (GW, Haebler 1903–07, Hain, Pellechet, Proctor) mentioned the *Tractat*, and Bohigas presumed that B was a unique copy. Avenozza and her team of scholars uncovered a reference to the S edition of the *Tractat* in the Colombine collection while working on the *Bibliografia de textos catalans antics* (BITECA), a recent and on-going electronic catalogue of Hispanic texts.

Bohigas was also the first to study the provenance of the *Tractat*, which he did according to traditional methods, through an examination of the typeface, collation, and signatures (1961; 1965; 1965a). Bohigas initially claimed the typeface either belonged to the Catalan



editor, Mateu Vendrell, or the Catalan printer, Pere Posa.<sup>11</sup> However he would eventually claim that the *Tractat* belonged to the small collection of incunables in the Hispanic Languages that Heinrich Mayer<sup>12</sup> produced in Toulouse from approximately 1484–1494. The Biblioteca de Catalunya and subsequent Spanish catalogue entries for the *Tractat* preserve this claim (García Craviotto 2: 278).

No further scholarship has come to light since Bohigas completed his initial work on the *Tractat*. However careful study of his scholarship and the *Tractat* raises four issues that make an attribution to the Mayer press difficult. Bohigas based his claim primarily on a comparison of the typeface in the *Tractat* to that found in two other incunables, neither of which bears any indication of the printer or place of publication. Neither did Bohigas take into consideration internal linguistic evidence, such as the dialect used in the *Tractat*. Bohigas was also unaware of the S edition of the *Tractat* and, as such, did not have as much archival data at his disposal. Finally Bohigas did not adequately consider the genre of the *Tractat* and its possible target audience when he attributed it to the Mayer press. Before drawing any preliminary conclusions, we will consider each of these issues in turn.

Bohigas's assertion that Heinrich Mayer is responsible for printing the *Tractat* rests primarily on the classification of the typeface. Bohigas used a methodology devised primarily by Robert Proctor and Konrad Haebler at the turn of the century (Proctor 1960 [1898–1903]; Haebler 1905–1924; Haebler 1995 [1925]). Haebler built on Proctor's work for the library of the British Museum, carefully studying and classifying as many incunables as were available to him. He devised a basic classification of gothic typefaces according to the size and features of the capital "M", which he believed to be one of the most distinctive letters in gothic type. This methodology also forms the basis for the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW), one of the most

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<sup>11</sup> Mateu Vendrell appears in the colophons of two works produced in Girona and Barcelona between 1483–1484. Haebler considers him a printer (1897), but modern scholars (Vindel 63; Delgado Casado 2: 702) consider him an editor or promoter. Some speculate that he owned his own equipment, including the typeface, since the same font is found in Girona and Barcelona within a short space of time. Given the similarity of typefaces, he may even have worked with Pere Posa, although this is speculation (Delgado Casado 2: 703, n. 257). Also note that Posa is sometimes spelled "Posas", "Poses", or "De la Posta".

<sup>12</sup> Also known as Henricus Mayer, Enrique Mayer, Enrique Alemán. Alternate spellings of the last name, e.g. "Mayer" and "Meyer", are found as well.

ambitious catalogues of incunables undertaken to date, although it has not yet been completed. The Haebler-Proctor method was well known in England, France, and the United States. However it was not widely disseminated in Spain, where Bohigas was one of the few Spanish scholars to apply the method.<sup>13</sup>

In summary, the Haebler-Proctor method is based on careful measurement in millimeters of twenty lines of text and subsequent categorization into one of four families of gothic type. Roman typefaces are more difficult to categorize, but there is a separate system for them as well. The correct measurement of the text is critical to the system and can affect the assignation of the text to one workshop or another. Humidity and other climactic considerations can affect the paper and distort the type. I have examined several incunables classified under the Haebler-Proctor system and found variations in measurement of 1–5 millimeters.<sup>14</sup> Once the measurement and family of type is known, one compares the capital “M” to the 102 prototypes collected in the *Tipenrepertorium* (Haebler 1905–1924; Martín Abad in Haebler 1995: 133–34). These prototypes are organized according to size, country, and printing workshop.

The methodology rests on the assumption that early printers were responsible for all aspects of printing including the design and casting of the typefaces, assembly of the printing press, etc. The methodology also assumes these master craftsmen maintained distinguishing characteristics of their work throughout the incunable period so that typeface and layout remained a reliable method of distinguishing one workshop from another. While this may be true of the first German printers, by 1480–1490 there is archival evidence that printers sold, hired out, or willed their equipment to other printers (Martín Abad in Haebler 1995: 137). Other problems such as falsifications of colophons and copies of typefaces create additional problems for the methodology. Lastly, the situation of printing in Spain is much different from the one Haebler describes in Gutenberg’s Germany.

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<sup>13</sup> Although Haebler’s classification system was not known, his *Bibliografía ibérica* (1917), an early catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese incunables, was widely disseminated in Spain. Bohigas was at least partially successful in introducing Haebler’s classification system, however. Antonio Odriozola states that he was doubtful of the Haebler-Proctor method and similar approaches until Bohigas convinced him of its usefulness (1974: 284).

<sup>14</sup> Although Haebler was aware of the problem, he did not offer any solutions, and it continues to impede successful application of the system (Haebler and Abad 1995: 133).

Printing arrived relatively late to Castile. Juan Parix (i.e. Paris) is credited with producing the first book in Segovia,<sup>15</sup> where he worked from 1472 to about 1474. Foreign printers taught local craftsmen the trade. Often these German and Dutch masters had previously established themselves in their native lands or had spent considerable time working in other countries, such as France and Italy, before arriving in Spain. Once they had established themselves, they often worked in partnership with local craftsmen. The first typefaces were roman (Romero de Lecea 15). However in Catalonia, narrow gothic typefaces, characteristic of the first German printers, were employed almost exclusively during the incunable period (Madurell Marimón and Rubió i Balaguer 58–59). There are many similarities among the typefaces of these early Catalan printers.

Some of these foreign printers, such as Pedro Brun and Juan Rosenbach, worked with more than one local printing house and traveled from city to city (Delgado Casado 1: 94–97; 2: 610–13). Also there were relatively more editors and sponsors of editions in Spain than in Germany. Perhaps some of these editors, such as Mateu Vendrell, owned their own equipment, including the typeface used to print works at their expense. All of these details make the Haebler-Proctor method difficult to apply consistently and accurately. A full discussion and critique of this method is beyond the scope of this investigation; however the issues raised here cast sufficient doubt upon the methodology to limit its use as a basis for cataloguing a Catalan incunable such as the *Tractat de prenostication*.<sup>16</sup>

Methodological questions notwithstanding, Bohigas did uncover two anonymous texts that employ the same typeface as the one we find in the *Tractat*. The first codex contains the pseudo-Eiximenis *Tract sobre els novíssims*,<sup>17</sup> the earliest Catalan version of the *Viatge al Purgatori de San Patrici* by Ramón Perellós, and several other hagiographic and mystic texts. The colophon of the codex reads, “Los

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<sup>15</sup> The *Sinodal de Aguilafuente* does not bear any indication of the place or date of publication. Odriozola uses archival evidence at his disposal to argue that this document must have been printed shortly after the conference was held in 1472. It also seems logical that the text was printed in the place where the event took place, that is in or very near Segovia, rather than Salamanca, as some have contended. For a complete discussion, see Odriozola (1974; 1975; 1976).

<sup>16</sup> See Abad's recent Spanish edition of Haebler's *Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde* for a full discussion of the method, its advantages and drawbacks, and complete bibliography (1995: 21–36).

<sup>17</sup> Translation: *Treatise on the Last Days of Life*.

presents libres ab gran diligència corregits per un frare de Sant Franses. L'an mil. .cccc. vuytanta he sis." Vindel attributes the text to the Catalan printer Pere Posa (1: 75).

Wittlin studied the *Tractat sobre els novíssims*, one of the individual texts collected in this codex (1989). Wittlin accepts Bohigas's attribution of the work to Mayer outright because Bohigas had "proves a la mà" (152). Of this evidence, we will say more shortly. Wittlin adds that the *Viatge al purgatori*, another work in the incunable, is a Catalan re-translation of a Provençal translation made of an original Catalan document (152). This explains why Provençal dialect items appear only in some parts of the codex and not others. Wittlin does not question why a printer in the heartland of the Occitan dialect group would go to such lengths to print the text in Catalan.<sup>18</sup> On this question, Wittlin only speculates:

Ignorem si l'immigrant Heinrich Mayer creia que un llibre en català es podria vendre bé en els països de llengua d'oc, o si tota l'edició estava destinada a l'exportació al sud dels Pirineus. En aquest cas, atribuir-lo a Eiximenis hauria estat un ardit comercial. (154)

The second codex contains the *Libellus somniorum interpretatione* by Arnau de Vilanova followed by anonymous treatise called *De mutatione aeris*. These Latin texts deal with the nature of dreams and visions and their correct interpretation. The typeface is identical to the one found in the *Tractat sobre els novíssims* and the *Tractat de Prenostication*. GW, using the Haebler-Proctor methodology, attributes the *Libellus somniorum* to the Heinrich Mayer press in Toulouse circa 1485 (2: 690–91). As Bohigas correctly notes, the quires are signed in a similar fashion to those in the *Tractat* (1965a: 96). However Bohigas goes beyond the data available to him when he constructs a hypothesis for the origin of these three texts based solely on this evidence.

The attribution of the *Libellus somniorum* in GW led Bohigas to assign both the *Tractat sobre els novíssims* and the *Tractat de Prenostication* to the Mayer press. Furthermore, Posa merely extends the approx-

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<sup>18</sup> Occitan, virtually indistinguishable from Provençal, was spoken in medieval Toulouse and the surrounding Languedoc region. These languages are linguistically distinct from the Catalan language family, which was spoken in the counties of the French Pyrenees and in the Principality of Catalonia. Today Catalan is spoken by some nine million people in the Spanish community of Catalonia, the Principality of Andorra, the French "Pyrenées Occidentales" region, and Ciutat d'Alguer in Sardinia. There are ongoing efforts to revive Occitan and Provençal, although these movements have not experienced the widespread success enjoyed in Catalonia. For a discussion see Fernández (1985).

imate date of publication given for the *Libellus somniorum* (1485) to the *Tractat de prenostication* (1965a). Bohigas did not personally examine any other Mayer texts. Thus all of this argument rests on the catalogue entry in GW, which attributes the typeface found in the *Libellus somniorum* to the workshop of Heinrich Mayer. However the GW and Proctor, upon which this catalog is based, are not consistent.

Proctor also attributes the *Libellus somniorum* to Mayer but states that the typeface used in lines 1 and 4 of the incipit is Mayer's Type I and the typeface in the body is Type III (2: 631). In contrast, the GW says the text in the body of the *Libellus somniorum* corresponds to Mayer Type II. I have personally examined all three of the incunables in question. The typeface used in lines 1 and 4 of the incipit to the *Libellus somniorum* is a match or very near copy of the type used in the incipit of the *Tractat sobre els novíssims*. The typeface used in the body of these three texts is identical; however I have not found an exact match for it either in Mayer or in any other early Catalan printer.<sup>19</sup> The *Scotus pauperum* of Guillermus Gorris also bears no printing information, although it is attributed to Mayer's press as well (Pellechet n. 5282). Pellechet attributes the body text to Mayer Type III. The text in *Scotus* bears some resemblance to the text in the body of the *Tractat de prenostication*. However the type in *Scotus* measures 69 mm for twenty lines of text instead of the 89–90 mm in the *Tractat*. Additionally, the *Tractat* has open capitals and the body of the letters is generally thicker than in the *Scotus*.

The capital "M" in the *Tractat* shares features of M42, attributed to Pere Posa and M49, attributed to Heinrich Mayer, but is not an exact match for either one. The typefaces used by Mayer and Posa are also similar to one another and to those of Vendrell and Spindeler, other Catalan printers. Any conclusion regarding the typeface used in the *Tractat* must wait until further study of early printers and archival evidence about any possible relationships among them provide a more solid foundation.<sup>20</sup> In the absence of such a study, internal evidence is necessary to clarify the issues at hand.

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<sup>19</sup> I have not been able, however, to examine the entire corpus of works attributed to Mayer.

<sup>20</sup> Archival evidence suggests that Pedro Brun (also Bru) directed a printing society in Barcelona. Among others, Juan Rosenbach, Pedro Posa, and Nicholas Spindeler collaborated in this society. Further documentation suggests individual partnerships among some of these printers. See the collection of notarial documents edited by Madurell Marimón and Rubió i Balaguer for primary source material (1955) and Romeo de Lecea *et al.* (1982) for an analysis of some of the material.

The second and perhaps most serious challenge to Bohigas's claims about the origin of the *Tractat* come from within the text. The dialect used in the *Tractat de Prenostication* is standard Catalan (although somewhat rural and archaizing for the time) from the late fifteenth century. During this period, literary Catalan had no national standard, and printed works often blended the dialects found in the original manuscripts with that of the typesetter or printer. If the text had been typeset in Toulouse, one would expect to find some traces of northern Catalan orthography or vocabulary. There are only a few Franco-Provençal items, probably attributable to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when these linguistic groups exercised greater influence on Catalan. They are few and stand out as archaic or unusual by comparison to the rest of the text. The critical edition refers to any words of probably foreign origin.

As Bohigas notes, the codex containing the *Tractat sobre els novíssims* and other mystery texts betrays some orthographic features of Provençal. For example the palatal /ñ/ is represented by the digraph “ny”. There are also Provençal vocabulary items such as *noyrit*, *layssa*, *aisi*, *meteyssa*, *mayti*, *coyssi*, *mieg* that were not common to the Catalan of the time (Bohigas 1965: 98). One of the texts included in this collection is the *Viatge al purgatori de San Patrici*. The mostly likely manuscript witness for this story was composed in the county of Rosselló (i.e. Roussillon), in the Northern Catalan dialect area (Miquel y Planas 1911–14, 1: 229).

Because some of these Provençal vocabulary items appear in the *Tractat sobre els novíssims*, supposedly written by the Catalan, Eiximenis, Bohigas concludes that they reflect the dialect of the printer rather than the author (1965: 98). If the *Tractat de Prenostication* was also printed in Toulouse, it should show traces of the Romance dialect spoken there. Not only does it fail to provide evidence of Provençal or northern Catalan influence; the text is replete with dialect features unique to eastern Catalan.

Two objections to Bohigas's claims about the origin of the text remain. Bohigas had incomplete archival evidence at his disposal, and what was available he failed to consider. Archival data on the *Tractat* is still admittedly limited. However there are now two documented copies of the text, and both were preserved in libraries in the historic Catalan heartland. The B edition has been in a private collection or in libraries in Barcelona as long as it has been documented. The missing S edition of the *Tractat* was purchased for

Colombus in Lleida in 1512 (Colombine Library *Registrum*, Ed. Huntington, n. 3858).

More important, we must consider the style and function of the text in question. Because the *Tracat* is written in simple, colloquial language, it represents popular texts designed for local consumption, not for export. Had it been reedited, incorporated into subsequent editions, or exported, we would expect to find some trace of the text in the archives. Popular texts, particularly almanacs, lunar calendars, and various forms of prognostication were rarely preserved. It would be unlikely to find a work such as this far from its original place of publication, particularly in 1512, only fifteen to twenty-five years after its initial publication.

We have limited but useful data about the two printers Bohigas credited with producing the work: Henry Mayer and Pere Posa. Little is known about Henry Mayer, although archival evidence suggests that he enjoyed a large and profitable workshop at the beginning of his career in Toulouse. He accumulated many debts, however, and eventually died in poverty. No definitive history of the Mayer press has been produced to date. We have similar documentation for Posa, Catalonia's first native printer, although no definitive study of his workshop exists either.

Mayer was not the first printer to arrive in Toulouse, a thriving university center and an *entrepôt* for German and Swiss printers passing through France on their way to Spain.<sup>21</sup> The *De fide instrumentorum*, dated June 20, 1476, is the first incunable to boast the name of Toulouse. The typeface derives from Basel in Switzerland and matches the font employed in two treatises with colophons linking them to Henry Turner, a printer from that location.<sup>22</sup> Turner worked for a time in association with Juan Parix, the first printer in Castile, who fled to Toulouse under mysterious circumstances.<sup>23</sup> Parix is later associated with Henry Mayer.

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<sup>21</sup> For a general discussion of early printing in Toulouse, consult Desgraves (1976) and Dureau (1982–1989).

<sup>22</sup> The *De sponsalibus et matrimoniis*, from the *Summa theologica* of St. Anthony of Florence, concludes with the initials HTDBMHO, and an edition of De Cessolis's moralization on the game of chess bears the initials MHDB. These are held to be: Henricus Turner de Basilea huius operis and Magister Henricus de Basilea, respectively (Scholderer lxxi).

<sup>23</sup> The archives of the Toulouse notaries have never been completely published. Odriozola uses some of this evidence to demonstrate that Henry Turner died in

Henry Mayer set up shop in Toulouse, where he worked from at least 1484 until his death in approximately 1499. He is referred to as German<sup>24</sup> and is said to have lived on Rue du Taur (Macaray 246). In a public document, Mayer acknowledges a debt owed to André Fabre, a printer from Toulouse, for six years of work Fabre had performed in Mayer's shop. As the document bears the date March 31, 1490, Mayer must have been working in the city from at least 1484.<sup>25</sup>

Six months later, André Fabre records his last will and testament, naming a religious brotherhood of the Saint Sernin monastery in Toulouse as his only heir. Mayer intervenes, acknowledging the debt of 185 golden *écus* and 28 *doubles*, only to request an extension until Christmas. On May 24, 1491, probably not long after Fabre's death, we find Mayer in debtors' prison at the instigation of the officers of the Saint Sernin society, his new creditors. Only through the timely intervention of several friends, some of whom were printers and bookbinders, does Mayer extricate himself from prison. He finally settles his debt with the aforementioned society on October 23, 1491 (Macaray 248).

We know that Mayer printed primarily legal texts in Latin and French. He also produced several treatises in Spanish, which occasioned a debate about whether the Tolosa found in his colophons was modern day Toulouse, in the province of Languedoc, or the small town of Toloza in Navarre (Desbarreaux-Bernard, *passim*). Municipal archives settled the question; Mayer worked in Toulouse, France. Although documents link Mayer to other printers who worked or

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Toulouse before July 1477 (1975: 294–95), although Macaray cites another document from 1483 demonstrating that Turner was alive and working with Juan Parix at that time (244–45). As Odriozola observes, either there is a scribal error in the documents (or Macaray's transcription) or we have two Henry Turners (1975: 295).

<sup>24</sup> Without further evidence, it is difficult to know precisely where Mayer came from. The records use the Occitan adjective *alaman* or the Latin *alemanus*, which could refer to anyone from a German-speaking territory. Brun suggests Mayer may have come from Basel (16), although he could be confusing him with Henry Turner, who arrived in Toulouse several years earlier and is more clearly linked with Basel. There certainly were numerous commercial ties between Toulouse and Basel. A thorough treatment of these ties has not yet been undertaken.

<sup>25</sup> “. . . ratione et ex causa laboris sui officii impressure, ex hoc quia dictus Andreas Fabri mansit cum dicto magistro Henrico Mayer per spatium sex annorum continuorum et completorum in exercendo predictum officium impressure” (Cit. in Macaray 246).



lived in Spain at one time, we have no proof yet that Mayer ever worked across the Pyrenees himself.

Mayer's name first appears in a colophon in 1488 (Scholderer lxxiii), and we have two other books from that year. Subsequently, Mayer seems to have collaborated with several other printers. On February 16, 1491, Mayer acknowledges another debt, this time to Pierre Hongre, for reparations made to certain characters of type in their workshop (Macaray 248). From 1492–1494, we have evidence that Mayer contracted many laborers for periods ranging from three months to three years; clearly he boasted a thriving press (Macaray 249; Scholderer lxxiii). There are, however, few extant works from this period.

Mayer also produced several works in Spanish, including his masterpiece: an elaborate Spanish translation of *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus (1494). He bought the paper for this magnificent work in 1493 and contracted the compositor, Ambroise Brokseser, a few weeks later (Macaray 249; Scholderer lxxiii). The archives also indicate that Mayer again got himself into financial trouble and had to cede 700 copies of this masterpiece to his paper merchant to liquidate his debts, although we do not know what percentage of the print run this represents (Macaray 250; Scholderer lxxiii).

The last documentary evidence of Mayer dates from 1501, when his press had been sold to liquidate his debts. Parix acquired his printing material, which he later sold (Macaray 250; Scholderer lxxiii). Odriozola suggests that Parix worked as Mayer's editor (1975: 301), although he provides no evidence. The relationship between these two printers needs further exploration. Certainly Parix could have provided Mayer with useful information on the Castilian market and perhaps linguistic help acquired during his stay in Segovia. Parix was evidently financially successful, and he loaned money to several local craftsmen in Toulouse.

Like Toulouse, Barcelona was already a thriving city with a book culture before the art of printing itself arrived. The early German printers offered the local booksellers, paper merchants, and others involved in the trade an ever-increasing array of economic possibilities. Scholars credit Enrique Botel, a German printer, and his associates with the production the first book, Aristotle's *Ethica ad Nicomachum*, in 1473. Botel's business association with Planck and von Holz is typical of print culture in Barcelona, where foreign craftsmen provided

training and material for the locals, whom they trained in the art.<sup>26</sup> In Barcelona, the booksellers enjoyed greater prestige than the actual craftsmen, who were not initially included in the guild (Peña Díaz 45).<sup>27</sup>

The other candidate proposed as the printer of the *Tractat*, Pere Posa, was the first and most prolific of Catalonia's native printers. Posa was born in Vic, in central Catalonia, and was trained as a priest. Posa moved to Barcelona sometime prior to 1481, when he produced his first book in conjunction with the Savoyard or German printer Pedro Brun. Like many others, Posa began his career as a bookseller and continued to sell books from his shop throughout his career. We have no documentation of any works that Posa produced between 1481 and 1484, although it is likely that he continued to work during this time (Madurell Marimón and Rubió i Balaguer 203). Posa was active in the printing industry until 1505, the year of his death (Delgado Casados 2: 558–59).

Archival evidence suggests that Posa was a prolific printer and that many of the popular works he produced are now lost. Posa's possessions are partially documented in three places: a bill of sale, his last will and testament, and an inventory of personal effects produced just prior to his death. In 1498, he sold a large collection of books, parchment, bookbinding equipment, and other utensils to Gaspar Mir and Antoni Vernet, young booksellers, for a modest sum. This document names many works of a popular nature that have been lost: religious sayings, *lunaris*,<sup>28</sup> mystery texts, and works of popular science (Madurell Marimón and Rubió i Balaguer 271–276). Although the *Tractat de prenostication* does not figure in any of the

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<sup>26</sup> Documentary evidence confirms that Botel collaborated with Juan Planck and Georgius von Holz in Barcelona at least as early as 1473. Botel's signature is recorded on another document in Barcelona 1476, where he is listed as *magister librorum de stampa*. In 1476, He rented a house on Carrer Tallers in the same city. After Holz died, Botel and Planck renewed their business agreement in Zaragoza, 1477. According to the first contract, Botel, the master craftsman, was to teach the others the art of printing. The *Ethica ad Nicomachum* is the only extant work Botel and his associates produced in Barcelona. From 1476–1478 Botel worked in association with the prolific Pablo Hurus from Konstanz and his former associate, Planck. Botel worked alone in Lleida from 1479 to 1495. See Sarriá Rueda (1993–96) and Peña Díaz (1997) for further discussion.

<sup>27</sup> The booksellers' guild was not founded until 1553 (Peña Díaz 45).

<sup>28</sup> Popular calendars or almanacs were repositories of popular knowledge from both secular and sacred sources. The most famous of these is the *Lunari* by Bernat Granollachs (*floruit* 1400?), which was edited over sixty times in forty years.

available documentation, it does fit the type of work Posa produced and owned.

Posa's last will and testament and the inventory of possessions in Posa's bookshop reveal that he owned a number of esoteric works and works on popular science. It is difficult to ascertain, in some cases, which works Posa printed and which came from other presses. The inventory records a Latin manuscript copy of *De proprietatibus rerum*, which is referenced in the *Tractat* and another manuscript titled *De astronomia*. Astrological material includes the following printed works: *Libre gros d'estrologia* (not identified), a copy of the *Tabulae directionum in nativitatibus* by Regiomontanus, and Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* in Latin. *Lunaris* and other popular works of scientific lore figure in the lists as well (Madurell Marimón and Rubó i Balaguer 404–433).

#### F. *The Tractat in the Catalan Printing Tradition*

The *Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens* is one of few popular Catalan texts (the only one treating prognostication) that have survived in incunable form. The narrow gothic typeface reflects the influence of the German and Dutch printers who brought the craft to Catalonia towards the end of the fifteenth century. The high quality paper, lack of title page, colophon, or printer's device, help identify the work as an incunable. The simple, colloquial language of the text reflects linguistic changes in Catalan that were coming to fruition by the end of the fifteenth century. The orthography betrays phonological leveling of unstressed /a/, /ε/, and /e/, typical of the central and eastern dialect groups.

These characteristics help locate the *Tractat* in the incunable period. The popular nature of the treatise and the dialect point towards one of Catalonia's early native printers. The only Catalan printers that owned their own presses in the fifteenth century were Pere Posa, Pere Miquel, and Gabriel Pou. These men all began work as booksellers and gradually developed the printing craft (Madurell Marimón and Rubió i Balaguer 58). Available archival evidence points to Pere Posa as the candidate most likely to have printed the *Tractat de prenostication*.

Occasional hyperbaton and a few vocabulary items indicate that the *Tractat* participated in the humanistic style that was beginning to emerge on the cultural scene. Archaisms and Latin spellings lend

*auctoritas* to the work and may indicate that the *Tractat* is based on an older manuscript witness, now lost.

The astro-numerological apparatus is the most interesting feature of the text because it is unique in Catalan and Spanish and demonstrates underlying influence from Arabic lunar astrology and astro-numerology. The *Tractat* supports the position that prognostic science is not in disaccord with Church teaching, and this identifies it at the vanguard of cultural changes that entered Spain through Italy towards the end of the fifteenth century.

### G. *The Present Edition*

The critical edition suppresses editorial marks and includes modern punctuation and accent marks to assist readers unfamiliar with Old Catalan. In some cases, monosyllables bear written accents even when this is not standard practice. This is to avoid confusion, for example between *mes* (conjunction), *més* (adverb), and *mès* (past participle of *metre*). Expansions of abbreviations are indicated in *Italic* type. Agglutination is indicated in two forms. An apostrophe indicates material missing from the first element: *de altri* → *d'altri*. A raised period or *punt volat* indicates that material from the second element is agglutinated: *si en* → *si·n*. Other editorial changes, additions, or deletions are flagged with superscript letters and keyed to an apparatus at the end of the work.

This system of presentation is designed to make the text useful and accessible to a wide group of scholars. As such, the system generally follows the guidelines set forth by other scholars of peninsular Romance such as the Vela-Palomares edition of *Tencar* (1997) and the Delbrugge edition of the *Reportorio de los tiempos* (1999).

Footnotes explain linguistic features, popular culture, scientific concepts, and primary sources used in the *Tractat de p̄nesticacion*. Spacing, layout, and capitalization are the responsibility of the editor, and changes in these aspects of the text are not reflected in the apparatus.

The edition does not alter the orthographic system in the source text since it generally reflects linguistic features of eastern Catalan from the late fifteenth century (see above). The text is surprisingly conservative given that no orthographic standards had been adopted. The letter “v” is used to represent the vowel /u/ (*vnt*, *vsant*) or the labial /b/ (*viurà*; *vendrà*). The grapheme “u” regularly represents a

semi-vowel /w/ (*haurà*) or the fricative /β/ (*quolseuol, seruesca*). Variations in this system have been preserved. Irregularities such as the confusion between atonic /a/ and /e/ reflect phonological leveling, which was coming to fruition at the time. These features also remain in the present edition.

The paleographic transcription (Appendix A) was produced according to the norms of the Hispanic Seminary's *A Manual of Manuscript Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language*, 4th edition (MacKenzie 1986). The text uses only ASCII characters and is machine-readable. New foliation has been imposed, indicated as [fol. 1r]. Editorial expansions are given in pointed braces < >, editorial deletions in parentheses ( ), and insertions in brackets [ ]. Finally, rubrics, initials, column boundaries, and other mnemonics are placed in braces { }.

For ease of consultation, the reference list is organized by primary and secondary source materials. The list includes all items referred to in the body of the text, the notes, the edition, and the glossary. To facilitate location of incunables, I include the name of the library and signatures or shelf marks for the works I consulted personally.

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TRACTAT DE PRENOSTICATION DE LA VIDA  
NATURAL DELS HÒMENS

segons los signes, planetas celestials, e propietats lurs demonstren

with an English translation by  
John Scott Lucas

## TRACTAT DE PRENOSTICATION DE LA VIDA NATURAL DELS HÒMENS

segons los signes, planetas celestials, e propietats lurs demonstren

### I

[fol. 2r] Aquest és lo libre lo qual vertaderament demonstre, ab la taula següent e segons que ací és figurade ab lo nombre sobre las letras aquí scrites,<sup>a</sup> la fortuna ho dubtós eueniment los quals deuen al home ho done sdeuenir segons lo signe en lo qual serà nat. Lo qual signe si diligentment quolseuol<sup>1</sup> experimentador inuestigar volrà, porà trobar ab la taula deuell pintade ho figurade—e ab la següent declaratió—la fortuna a ell naturalment sdeuenidora.

Tostemps que vulles saber ho experimentar la tua fortuna ho ventura, scriu lo nom de aquell del qual volràs inuestigar la fortuna e lo nom de la mare per semblant. E veuràs ab qualas letras tals noms se deuen scriure.<sup>b</sup> E après, serca en la taula deuell escrita quascuna letra de aquellas ab las quals dits noms seran scrits. E pren lo nombre scrit sobre quascuna de las ditas<sup>c</sup> letras de endós<sup>2</sup> los dits noms.

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<sup>1</sup> *quolseuol*. adj. and pron. 'any'; 'whichever'; 'anybody' < L. \*QUALE+SI+VOLET. Catalan generally retains original tokens of Latin /wa/. Occasionally, this diphthong suffers velarization and subsequent reduction: /wa/ > /wo/ > /o/. Although a common process, educated authors condemned this pronunciation from the late Middle Ages onward. A fifteenth century MS from Valencia includes pronunciations such as *quotte* and *quoresma* among examples of rural and uneducated speech (Badia i Margarit 1950–53, Part 1: 137–52). It may be that the pronunciation was more common in eastern varieties of Catalan.

<sup>2</sup> *endós*. pron. 'both'; 'both of them'. The Latin compound AMBO DUOS, literally 'both' and 'two', combines these near synonyms into a new word. The new compound survives in Catalan most commonly as *amdós*. It appears from mid to late fourteenth century, particularly in Eiximenis (viz. *Dotzè del crestià*). *Endós* is the etymological reflex; the /e/ is no doubt the result of phonological leveling of atonic /e/ and /a/ (see notes in chapter 3, above). The nasal assimilation is also etymological: /m/ > /n/. Although commonly used, the fifteenth century *Regles d'esquivar vocables* favors *los dos* over *amendosos*, another variant (Badia i Margarit 1950–53, Part 3: 147–48). Modern Catalan clearly favors the neologism *tots dos* to *endós*, now a literary archaism (DECat 1:273–4).



# TREATISE ON THE PROGNOSTICATION OF THE NATURAL LIFE OF MEN

As the Signs, Celestial Bodies, and their Properties Demonstrate

## I

The present book truly demonstrates, as the following table shows and as the numbers inscribed over the letters in this table indicate, the fortune or dubious events which should happen to each man according to the sign under which he was born. The experimenter<sup>1</sup> interested in discovering the birth sign will find it by using the instructions for interpreting this table.

Whenever you wish to investigate someone's fortune, write down the given name of the individual and the name of his or her mother. You should be sure to check how the names are spelled. Next consult the table printed below for each of the letters contained in these

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<sup>1</sup> *Experimenter*. This text echoes a world-view that was slowly coming into focus at the dawn of the Renaissance. Magic was seen as a process of scientific experimentation (< L. *experimentare* 'to experience' and thence 'to experiment') into the mysteries of nature. See chapter one for a historical overview.

E après, aiusta tots los dits nombres sobre quascuna letra de dits noms escrits en vna summa. E après, pertex dita summa per parts eguals de .xxviii. e lo qui restarà fetas las ditas parts eguals per vint e vuyt—ho si per ventura no hi restaua algun nombre sinó que totas las parts restassen eguals.

Vegas en la ordinatió següent après la taula en qual signe tal nombre de .xxviii. equal ho no bastant a aquell sia posat. E aquell signe, a tu demostrat per dit nombre, pendràs e legiràs la [fol. 2v]<sup>d</sup> propietat de aquell ab lo qual entendràs los actes teos e<sup>e</sup> a quina fortuna naturalament són subiectas.

I	II	III	III	X	XXIII	III	VI	X	XX	II	
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	
XII	XXII	II	XXIII	XX	III	XX	VIII	VI	XX	X	VIII
m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	v	x	y	z

Compte lo nom del home e de la mare per las letras demont escritas. E après, aiuste ensemps<sup>3</sup> tots los nombres sobre quascuna de ditas letras posats. E aquells aiustats en vna summa, pertex-los per .xxviii. E si'n restarà .i. ho .ii. serà del signe de Aries. Si tres ho quotra ho .v., serà del signe de Tauro. Si'n restaran .vi. ho .vii., serà del signe de Geminis.<sup>f</sup>

Si'n restaran .viii. ho .viii. ho .x. serà del signe de Crancer. Si restaran .xi. ho .xii. serà del signe de Leo. Si'n restaran .xiii. ho .xiiii. ho .xv. serà del signe de Vúrgo. Si'n restaran .xvi. ho .xvii. serà del signe de libra. Si'n restaran .xviii. ho .xviii. ho .xx. serà del signe de Scorpio. Si'n restaran .xxi. ho .xxii. serà del signe de Sagitari. Si'n restaran .xxiii. .xxiiii. ho .xxv. serà del signe de

<sup>3</sup> *ensemps*. adv. 'together'; 'jointly'. < L. ĪNSĪMŪL < C. L. SĪMŪL. (DECat 3: 372–374). Common to eastern Romance varieties e.g.: Fr. *ensemble* and It. *insieme*. Variant of Cat. *ensems* with epenthesis of /p/, an extension of the labial quality of /m/.

names. Take the number written above each of the letters of both names. Then find the sum of all of these numbers, and divide this sum by twenty-eight. The remainder determines the birth sign.

After the table, you will find a list of signs for each of the numbers up to twenty-eight. And you will take that sign, determined for you by the name, and you will read the properties [fol. 2<sup>v</sup>] of that sign and thereby will you understand your future actions and the fortune to which they are bound by nature.<sup>2</sup>

I	II	III	III	X	XXIII	III	VI	X	XX	II	
A	B	c	d	E	F	g	h	i	k	l	
XII	XXII	II	XXIII	XX	III	XX	VIII	VI	XX	X	VIII
M	N	o	P	Q	R	S	t	v	x	y	z

Find the sum of the numbers in the name of the man and of his mother. Then find the sum of these two names, dividing this sum by twenty-eight. If the remainder be one or two, the sign will be Aires. If the remainder be three, four, or five, the sign will be Taurus. If six or seven be the remainder, the sign will be Gemini.

If eight, nine, or ten be the remainder, he will be of the sign of Cancer. If eleven or twelve remain, the sign will be Leo. If thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen remain, he will be of the sign Virgo. If sixteen or seventeen remain, he will be of the sign Libra. If eighteen, nineteen, or twenty remain, he will be of the sign Scorpio. If twenty-one or twenty-two remain, he will be of the sign of Sagittarius. If twenty-three, twenty-four, or twenty-five remain, he will be of the

<sup>2</sup> The original text uses the adverb *naturalment* ‘naturally’, which was understood in early texts on experimental science to mean ‘as deemed by nature’ and not the more general sense ‘ordinarily’; ‘customarily’.

Capricorni. Si restaran .xxvi. ho .xxvii. serà del signe de Aquarii.<sup>g</sup> Si'n restaran .xxviii. serà del signe de Piscis.

E sapias que quascú dels dits signes te *comueniència* ab los planetas segons la *communa sentència* dels stròlechs.<sup>4</sup> En tal manera que la spera del Sol te sots si lo signe de Leo. La spera de la luna lo signe de Crancer. La spera de Mars lo signe de Aries e de Scorpio. La spera del Mercurii lo signe de Geminis he Virgo. La spera de Jupiter lo signe de Sagitarii e Piscis. La spera de Venus lo signe de Libra e de Taurus. La spera de Saturnus lo signe de Capricorni e Aquarii. [fol. 3r]

### *La planeta de Aries és Mars*

La ffigura de Aries, signe lo qual regne de mig mes de mars fins a mig mes de abril, és partide en la sua significació segons lo linatge de masculí ho femení. He començant a declarar del masculí com a més noble, se troba que lo infant qui serà nat sots tal signe serà ffort, animós, e ingeniós he se agradarà de delits. Serà ben affortunat en optenir<sup>5</sup> donatius. En totas viandes serà habundós. E la maior part de las cosas que volrà fer, portarà en effecte. En la primera iuuentut<sup>6</sup> serà perfidós e iracundo<sup>7</sup> e peregrinarà molt; e lexarà los seus e ab angústias viurà. E si pendrà muller, per ella serà fet rich. E moltras riquesas ly seran donades. E los seus officis seran acceptats<sup>h</sup> molt en gràcia.

<sup>4</sup> *strolechs*. 'astrologers'. Variant of *astrolechs*. Apheresis due to imitation of Latin models. The scribe or author regularly drops initial /e/ before /s-/. Since atonic /a/ and /e/ were neutralized in Eastern Cat., it was difficult to tell which initial vowels were etymological without a good knowledge of Latin. Cf. *squernidor*, *star*, *spera*, *sdevenidora*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *optenir*. v. 'obtain'. Variant of *obtenir*. Devoicing of /b/ before /t/ is common in eastern Catalan dialects and follows a pattern of strong articulatory tension of consonants and weak articulation of vowels.

<sup>6</sup> *primera iuuentut*. Literary topos. In Ptolemy, there are seven stages of life, corresponding to the seven planets (Tester 86-7).

<sup>7</sup> *iracundo*. adj. 'irate'; 'irascible' < IRACUNDŪS. Learned form imported from Italian humanistic prose, c. late fourteenth cent. (DECat 4: 862-3; Bohigas 1965: 81).

sign of Capricorn. If twenty-six or twenty-seven remain, he will be of the sign Aquarius. If twenty-eight remain, he will be of the sign Pisces.

You should know that each of these signs accords with one of the planets, as is commonly known among the astrologers. In this way, the sphere of the sun holds the sign Leo in its dominion. The sphere of the moon, the sign of Cancer. The sphere of Mars, the signs of Aries and of Scorpio. The sphere of Mercury, the signs of Gemini and Virgo. The sphere of Jupiter, the signs of Sagittarius and Pisces. The sphere of Venus, the signs of Libra and of Taurus. The sphere of Saturn, the signs of Capricorn and Aquarius.

*The planet of Aries is Mars*

The constellation of Aries, which reigns from mid March to mid April, is divided according to its influence into the masculine and feminine genders. Beginning with the male, as the nobler sex, we find that the boy born under this sign will be strong, full of spirit and clever; and he will indulge himself in worldly pleasures. He will be quite fortunate in obtaining patronage. He will be a hearty eater. And he will successfully undertake the majority of things he wishes to do. In his early youth, he will be a traitor, wrathful, and he will journey far. And he will leave his family and live with anguish. If he take a wife, she will make him rich. And many riches will be given him. And his work will be held in esteem.

Serà *vergonyós* e possehirà trebals e honors d'altri.<sup>8</sup> He lo que haurà, no u negarà a algú.<sup>9</sup> Entre auariciosos res no conseruarà, ne tembrà ira ne contenció. Passats .xxiii. anys, en millors partidas viurà e lauons no pendrà muller segons que demont és dit. Mes pendrà-n altra, la qual serà ya mare de infants.<sup>10</sup> De quolseuol notable persona serà inculpat ho accusat.<sup>1</sup> E haurà de açò discució.

Lo que farà en la primera edat, no creixerà molt ni aminuarà molt. Mes algú tant serà leuger en vendre e en comprar, en donar e en pendre. E nunque<sup>11</sup> serà de maluestat<sup>12</sup> reprobat; haurà las per-aules molt suaus. Dels<sup>j</sup> seus inimichs veurà vengança. Dolor de ventrell comportarà. Lo *que* tractarà, dirà; *emperò* après farà altra. Per causa de *penas de donas* viurà ab gran furor prop de dotze [fol. 3v.]<sup>k</sup> mesos. He serà tocat ho scaldat ab aygua calda.

En lo temps ho edat sua de .xxiii. anys haurà e comportarà molts treballs. Passats .xxv. anys serà turbat de veri, he en la edat de quoranta anys serà fet rich, he peruindrà a gran dignitat. He si passarà las ditas edats e treballs, viurà .lxxxvii. anys e sis mesos. E gorde se<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *altri*. pron. 'another person'. < V. L. \*ALTERĪ (dat.). This pronoun was common throughout the Middle Ages but was gradually replaced by *algú* (DECat 1: 237). It is more commonly found after the dative preposition *a*, and may have been somewhat archaizing by the late fifteenth century.

<sup>9</sup> The text employs *algú* both for 'somebody' and 'nobody'.

<sup>10</sup> Old Catalan future verb forms vary widely, and the *Tractat* reflects this. Many forms show epenthesis of /d/: e.g. V. L. \*TENIRE HAT > *tenirà* > *tendrà*. The stress shift to the inflectional morpheme results in the loss of the stem vowel /i/. Catalan regularly treats the resulting Romance group *n'r* with dissimilation. The form *tembrà* also shows subsequent nasal assimilation /nb/ > /mb/. Occasionally the infinitive marker /r/ presents metathesis as in *haure* and its forms. Many future forms were in free variation until the sixteenth century (Badia i Margarit 1984: 372–75).

<sup>11</sup> *nunque*. adv. 'never'. V. L. variant of C. L. NUMQUAM. In the fifteenth century, this Latinizing form was more common than *mai* < V. L. MAGIS, which would eventually replace it (DECat 5: 618–19).

<sup>12</sup> *maluestat*. n. 'evil deeds'; 'evil quality or state' < O. Occ. *malvatz*. Still exists in central Catalan. (DECat 5: 403).

<sup>13</sup> *gorde se*. v. 'to guard', 'to keep'; 'to watch'; 'to keep watch'; 'to be wary of'; 'to wait'; 'to pay attention to', 'to look at'. Rural reflex of standard *guardar* < Germ. WARDŌN *idem* < WARDA 'act of watching', etc. < WARŌN 'to attend to'; 'to pay attention to'. Reflexes of this item and related forms are common to Romance languages and have been reintroduced into English, accounting for the near doublet of etymological *watch* and borrowed *guard*. The sense of 'to look at' is common

He will be shameful, and another man will bring him both travail<sup>3</sup> and honor. He will deny whatever he has to no one. Among the greedy, he will keep nothing. But this will bring neither anger nor disputes. Having lived twenty-nine years, he will come to greater fortune. And in this case, he will not take a wife like the one mentioned above. Rather he will take another one, who will already be the mother of small children. He will be accused or sued by an honorable person. And some trouble will come of this.

Whatever accomplishments he makes in his early youth will neither wax nor wane much. He will be agile in his affairs, buying and selling; giving and taking with ease. He will not be reproached for evil deeds; he will be soft-spoken. He will take vengeance on his enemies. He will suffer stomach pains. He will speak his mind, but often do otherwise. He will spend well nigh twelve [fol. 3<sup>v</sup>] months suffering over women. He will be scalded by hot water.

At the age of twenty-three, he will suffer travail. Having reached the age of twenty-five, he will become rich, and he will attain honor. If he should pass through these ages and travails, he will live to be eighty-seven years and six months. And he should be careful to wash

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<sup>3</sup> *Travail*. Lit. translation. < O.Fr. *travail* Conf. Cat. *treball* < L. TRIPALIARE 'to torture' TRIPALIUM, a three-poled instrument of torture. The word maintains the meaning 'to suffer' throughout the Middle Ages, gradually acquiring the sense 'to endure'; 'to struggle'; 'to expend energy' and then slowly takes on its modern meaning 'to work'. We use English 'travail' as it preserves only the original Romance meaning.

de rentar lo cap en diluns.<sup>14</sup> Hage emperò en bona deuoció mossènyer Sanct Martí, he al altar seu seruesca e passarà bé las ditas venturas.

*De la fembra*

La fembra qui nexerà en dit signe serà offesa e laboriosa. E de personas honorables haurà vergonyas. Dels bens de son pare e mare tostemps<sup>15</sup> se alegrarà. E quolseuol cosa que serà feta *per* son consell serà portade en effecte. Per lochs ignots passarà ho peregrinarà, he après a bonas parts vendrà. Molts fills haurà. E gordè-se que no's casàs ab son amich ho anamorat. En la edat de dezeset<sup>16</sup> anys haurà infirmitat.

Après serà bé dotade. E si scaparà, viurà fins que vege los seus cabells fins als caps dels dits.<sup>17</sup> E no's rante lo cap en dimarts ne en dimecres ne en digous. E hage en deuoció Sanct Martí, he als seus infortunis contrastarà.

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in the Romance family: Old Fr. *garder*, now *regarder*, Cat. *guardar* and related forms; Occ. *gardar*; It. *guardare*. In Catalan, this sense is gradually attached to the form *esguardar*, which disappears in favor of *mirar*. *Guardar* still exists in the sense of 'to guard'; 'to keep', although the reduced *gordar* is common in rural speech (DECat 4:698–99). The labialization of /a/ here is similar to the process at work through the text for initial /kwa/: V. L. QUALE SI VOLET > *qualsevol* > *quolsevol*. These processes were already considered rural or archaizing in the fifteenth century.

<sup>14</sup> The so-called Egyptian days refer to unlucky days for undertaking certain tasks. The study of these days was once a part of judicial astrology (see Chapter 1) and has largely disappeared. A faint echo is heard in the Spanish idiom: "El martes no te cases, ni te embarques".

<sup>15</sup> *tostemps*. adv. 'always'. Reduction of *tots temps* with metathesis. Characteristic of O. Cat; still used in Prov. and Occ. (DECat 8: 659–70).

<sup>16</sup> *dezeset*. pron. 'seventeen'. < L. DĒCEM+ET+SEPTĒM. This is a conservative variant. Compare to the etymological process whereby Latin CE > /ts/ > /z/ > /0/. The loss of the weak /z/ brought two vowels in to hiatus: \**dēset*. Several variant forms competed for a time including: *desset*, *deaset*, and *deiset*. The modern form in eastern and central varieties presents reduction of the two vowels: *diset*. In Northeastern varieties, the /z/ is more resistant to change, and we find forms such as *dezeset*, *deseset*, and *desesset*, particularly in Provençal. Modern Valencian preserves *desset*, which shows characteristic reduction but no vowel raising. Coromines notes that the two vowels in hiatus were particularly subject to dissimilation or other antihiatic changes in the eastern and central dialects (DECat 3: 106). The appearance of *dezeset* here is most likely an archaism or a semi-learned form, consistent with the other Latinizing characteristics found throughout.

<sup>17</sup> *als caps dels dits*. 'to the ends of the fingers'. Constitutes another figurative manner of marking time in the text. Contrasts with the precise numbers of years and months given throughout. Cf. note 6.



his head on Monday. And he should show devotion to Saint Martin and serve at his altar, and he will survive the aforementioned misadventures.

*Of the Female*

The female born under this sign will be bothersome and tedious. And she will be shamed by honorable people. She will always rejoice in her father and mother's wealth. And whatever thing should be done by her counsel will be successfully undertaken. She will travel or journey through disgraceful places. And she should take heed not to marry her friend or lover. At the age of seventeen, she will become ill.

Afterwards she will be fortunate. If she should escape misfortune, she will live to see her hair grow to the tips of her fingers. She must wash her head on neither Tuesday, nor Wednesday, nor Thursday. And she should show devotion to Saint Martin, and in this way will she overcome her misfortunes.

*Las planetas del signe següent són Mars e Venus<sup>1</sup>*

La figura del signe appellat Taurus entra a mig abril e dura fins a mig maig. E lo infant qui nexerà en tal signe haurà algún senyal en los genitius ho en lo prepuci.<sup>18</sup> E serà bon lector. E si serà capellà, haurà moltes riquesas e aquellas gonyarà im[fol. 4r]perant la sua variable fortuna per lochs a ell no conaguts. He confiarà molt en la sua sauiesa ho virtut sua. E serà peregrí. E farà tot lo que haurà en voluntat de fer; lo consell que li donaran los amichs seus no pendrà, mes farà de son cap e consell. E serà antós.<sup>19</sup>

En lo loch vnt serà nat no starà; de pàtria mudarà e no serà negligent. Aquest emperò haura riquesas passats .xxxiiii. anys. E deu pendre donzella ho verge per muller. E si pendrà viude, morà la muller ans<sup>20</sup> que ell. E si pendrà verge e après viude, de la primera no starà molt bé. De la segona serà més rich. E la terça muller lo soterrarà.

En la edat de sinc anys deu hauer vna plaga en lo cap o en lo bras ho en lo ventre, ho haurà mors de algún ca. E haurà senyal algú de foch ho de ferro, lo qual lo turbarà molt. Haurà set malalties fins a .xxiiii. anys e serà mès en presó. E complits<sup>21</sup> aquests mals, après .xl. anys serà rich fins a la senectut. E morrà rich en lo loch vnt serà nat. Emperò haurà mal de vlls. He no fassa res en

<sup>18</sup> *prepuci*. n. 'foreskin'. Reference to popular magic in which the effect of the stars was manifest by signs or omens often found on the body.

<sup>19</sup> *antós*. This word is not documented in DECat, Alcover and Moll, etc. and may constitute a hapax in Catalan. The word exists in Provençal as an adj. meaning 'shameful'; 'dishonorable' < V. L. ANCTOS '*idem*' (Honnorat 1: 116). However, the meaning here is more likely 'headstrong' or 'stubborn'. The word could represent a reinterpretation of the Provençal term with influence from Cat. *entost* and *entost de* 'instead of'; 'as opposed to' (DECat 3: 393). The verb *antostar* 'to oppose' < L. ANTE+OBSTARE may also provide some influence (DECat 5: 403).

<sup>20</sup> *ans que*. adv. 'before'. Typical of O. Cat. < C.L. ANTE. (DECat 1: 321-5). The /s/ appears by analogy to other adverbs that end with this consonant: e.g. *després* < L. DE + EX + PRESSUM.

<sup>21</sup> *complits*. adj. and p. part. 'full'; 'complete'; 'finished'; fig. 'dead'. < L. ĪMPĪLĒRE 'to fill' via V. L. COMPLĒRE 'to fill'; also 'to complete'; 'to finish' < Old L. PLĒRE '*idem*'. Vulgar Latin synonyms OMPLERE 'to fill' and COMPLIRE 'to fill completely' existed along side the near homonym COMPLĒRE which also meant 'to complete'. Old Cat. uses *complir* in both senses. Eventually *omplir* would assume the meaning 'to fill' and *complir* would be used only in the sense of 'to complete'; 'to finish'; fig. 'to die' (DECat 6: 62-4).

*The Planets of the Following Sign are Mars and Venus*

The constellation of the sign called Taurus rises in mid April and lasts until mid May. And the boy born under this sign will have a mark on his genitals or foreskin. And he will be a good public speaker.<sup>4</sup> And should he become a friar, he will have great wealth, which he will greatly increase by try[fol. 4<sup>r</sup>]ing his fortune in places unknown to him. He will trust in his own wisdom and virtue. And he will be a pilgrim. And he will do all that he wills; he will not take counsel from his friends rather doing whatever he has a mind to. He will be stubborn.

And he will not dwell in the place where he was born; he will certainly change homelands. And he will nevertheless attain great riches after the age of thirty-four years. And he should take a damsel or virgin for a wife. And he if should take a widow, the woman will die before him. And if should he take a virgin and then a widow, he will fare well with the first. By the second, he will be made richer. The third woman will bury him.

At the age of five years, he should have an infection on the head, or the arm, or the belly, or he will suffer dog bites. And he will be wounded by fire or iron, which will cause him great suffering. He will have seven illnesses before the age of twenty-four, and he will be placed in prison. And having suffered these misfortunes, after forty years he will be rich until old age. And he will die rich and in the place where he was born. However he will have poor eyesight. He should do nothing on Monday; Friday, however, will be

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<sup>4</sup> The original text uses *lector*, which literally means “reader”. However reading was often a public function, and texts were read aloud. This is especially true in an ecclesiastical or scholastic context. For this reason, English still uses the word ‘lecture’ to refer to academic conferences or presentations.

diluns. Lo diuendres, emperò, serà bo per ell. E seruesca la gloriosa verge Maria e serà beneuenturat.

*De la dona*

La infanta ho donzella qui nada serà sotz lo dit signe serà en los seus fets duptosa, murmurosa, vergonyosa, offesa, suspitosa als strangers<sup>m</sup> he hostes. E lo que entendrà dir de altri, pensarà sia<sup>22</sup> seu ho dit per ella. E serà represa de algú fals home, emperò exirà<sup>23</sup> de aquí alguna veritat. Per bé ly serà retribuït mal e volrà experimentar mudan[fol. 4v]sa.<sup>24</sup> He haurà mal en los vlls e en los peus en la edat menor de dotze anys he si porà scapar lo dit terme viurà fins a .LXXX. anys.

E seruesca a nostro senyor Déu e viurà beneuenturadament. Haurà senyals en la cara ho en la vn gla ho en la nucla del coll. En diuendras ne en dissapte no fassa res. E seruesca la gloriosa verge Maria e obuiarà als perills.<sup>25</sup>

*La planeta del signe següent és Mercuri*

La figura de Geminis entra en mig maig e dura fins a mig Juny. E lo infant qui nexerà en dit signe serà robust de cors he de statura serà equal a dit signe ho a la cosa màgicament per aquell figurada.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *pensarà sia*. 'She will think that . . .'. Latinatè construction. The verb *pensar* normally takes a conjunction such as *que* and uses the indicative in the subordinate clauses.

<sup>23</sup> *exirà*. v. fut. 'she will leave'. < L. ĒXĪRE < EX 'out' + IRE 'to go'. Present from the origins of the language, *exir* (modern spelling: *eixir*), was common currency until recently. In central Catalan, the form *sortir* (< L. SŌRTĪRĪ 'to leave') has replaced *eixir*. The latter is considered literary or dialectal in modern central and eastern Catalan. *Eixir* still exists in western varieties of the language (DECat 3: 253-7).

<sup>24</sup> *mudança*. n. 'change'; 'movement' < C. L. MŪTĀRE 'change'. Here, in the psychological sense 'change of heart'.

<sup>25</sup> There appear to be two concluding paragraphs. Normally, only one allusion to a Saint or to God is given. Provides evidence of editorial intervention in the composition of the text.

<sup>26</sup> This is the first of several allusions to talismanic magic, whereby one seeks to know the future or to influence a planet or star by manipulating a sign or symbol

a good day for him. May he serve the Blessed Virgin Mary, and he will be fortunate.

*Of the Woman*

The girl born under said sign will in all her actions be doubtful, lying, shameful, irksome, and suspicious of strangers and guests. And whatever she hears another say, she will claim as her own idea. And she will be upbraided by a false man, however some truth will come out of this. Although she will be justly accused of evil, she will rep[fol. 4<sup>v</sup>]ent. And she will have infirmity in her eyes and her feet at the tender age of twelve years. If she survives, she will live to be eighty years old.

She should serve the Lord God, and she will live a fortunate life. She will have signs on her face or on her nails or the nape of her neck. She should do nothing on Friday or Saturday. And may she serve the blessed Virgin Mary and she will escape these perils.

*The Planet of the Following Sign is Mercury*

The figure of Gemini rises in mid May and lasts until the middle of June. And the boy who is born in this sign will be of robust constitution and equal in stature to his sign or the magical symbol that

E serà volgut de dones. He serà bo en los fets humanals. He serà joyós e bon inuentor de subtilitats de las arts mecànics. Serà saui, temperat, vtil en consells. Lo que volrà, pensarà bé fer. He per enuega li serà apposat algún gran crim. He de las suas riquesas serà bé senyor. He haurà baralla he qüestions ab los acostats seus he domèstichs. E veurà vengança de sos inimichs. Creurà volentés<sup>27</sup> e per semblant serà cresegut.<sup>28</sup> Serà ben morigerat<sup>29</sup> he serà honrat més que los altres hòmens segons lo seu linatge.

He serà impossible que no hage coctura de foc he lesura<sup>30</sup> de ferro. Animal de quotra peus lo nafrarà.<sup>31</sup> He dins son cors haurà dolor en los neruis. He trobarà diners amagats. Ab sa muller treballarà<sup>32</sup> fort. E en la edat de .xxx. anys lo seu star serà envers orient.<sup>33</sup> [fol. 5r] En la sua iuuentut haurà molts malalties. E si peruindrà a mige edat viurà cent anys he tres mesos. En en dimarts no's rante lo cap. E robas nouas pot vestir. E seruesca sancta Margarida he beneuen-turadament passarà totas cosas.

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associated with it. Although Gemini is traditionally represented by the twins or the glyph II, there are so many contradicting traditions on talismanic magic that it is difficult to ascertain which magical symbol this text is referring to. The signs of the zodiac were also thought to act through magic amulets, precious stones, and incantations. One could use this magic to attenuate or to increase the effect of the stars. See *Picatrix* (trans. of Arabic *Gayat Al-hakim* c. 1000 AD), an influential work on sympathetic and talismanic magic. The work is only known in MS form and was translated from Arabic into Latin in the thirteenth century and later into Sp., Fr., Heb., and Ger. The first documented summary in Catalan (c. 1450 AD) was recently translated and studied (Vela Palomares 1997: 103–117).

<sup>27</sup> *volentés*. adv. 'voluntarily'; 'easily'. < C. L. VOLUNTĀT/VOLŪNTAS 'will'; 'volition' with analogical influence from V. L. \*VOLERE 'to want'; 'to wish' (DECat 9: 380–81).

<sup>28</sup> *cresegut*. Here 'naïve'; 'gullible'. Dialectal form of *crecut*, p. part. of *creixer* 'to grow'; 'to develop' < C. L. CRESCĒRE 'idem'. Here, by analogy to verbs such as \*CONOSCĒRE > *conagut* 'to know' which have velar stem-extensions etymologically (cf. Badia i Margarit 1984: 365).

<sup>29</sup> *morigerat*. adj. 'moderate in deeds and speech'. Learned word < C. L. MORIGERARE 'to moderate' (Alcover and Moll 7: 37).

<sup>30</sup> *lesura*. 'injury'; 'lesion'. < C. L. LAESIO 'idem'. with analogical influence from words such as *clausura*, *picadura*, *mesura*, etc. Suffix common in this text. Other analogical forms include: *coctura*, *morsura*. Possibly influenced by Fr. or Prov. models cf. *blessure*, etc.

<sup>31</sup> *nafrarà*. v. 'to injure'. Characteristic of O. Cat. < V. L. NAUFRAGARE 'to be shipwrecked' (DECat 5: 866).

<sup>32</sup> *treballar* v. 'to work'; 'to labor' here in the etymological sense of 'to travail'; 'to suffer'.

<sup>33</sup> *lo seu star serà envers orient*. '... his residence will be facing the East'. *Star* represents *estar* with apheresis of /e/ due to hypercorrection. Although nominal forms of *estar* usually bear a derivational morpheme as in *estada*, *estança* etc. the verb here

represents it. And he will be loved by women. And he will be good at feats of strength. He will be full of joy and a great inventor in the mechanical arts. He will be wise, tempered, and give useful advice. Whatever he wants, he will achieve. He will be accused of a great crime involving envy. He will be the master of his riches. He will have disputes or disagreements with his friends and servants. And he will find vengeance over his enemies. He will believe others easily and, therefore, will be called gullible. He will be even-tempered and he will be honored more than other men in his lineage.

It is impossible for him to avoid being scalded by fire or wounded by iron. A four-footed animal will hurt<sup>5</sup> him. And his nerves will cause him pain. He will find hidden treasure. He will fight with his wife. And at the age of thirty, his home will face East [fol. 5<sup>r</sup>]. Throughout his youth, he will suffer many illnesses. And on Tuesday, he should not wash his head, and he may wear new clothing. May he serve Saint Margaret, and he will survive these things with good fortune.

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<sup>5</sup> The original text uses *nafrar* (< L. NAUFRAGARE 'to be shipwrecked'), which usually means 'to hurt' or 'to wound'. In this context, it might also mean 'to bite'.

*De la dona*

La infanta ho donzella la qual naxerà sotz lo dit signe serà calda de cor. E tantost<sup>34</sup> passarà en gràcia e tantost s'en retornerà. E serà officiosa, sàuia, iocosa, e haurà moltes tribulacions; mes de totes scaparà. Aprés haurà honor he seruici. E serà passient, turbada, he laboriosa fins a .xxxv. ayns. Serà vergonyosa e serà appellade mare de infants fins a .xxxvii. ayns. E serà turmentada per moltes tribulacions. E no volent ho desigant, haurà vengança de sos inimichs.

Lo primer fill no serà donat a ella per son marit. No s'alegrarà,<sup>35</sup> mes ab medicina a ella<sup>n</sup> plasant serà deliurade. Dirà vna cosa he farà altra. E haurà vna cultellada. Mal de mara<sup>36</sup> haurà. E en edat de .xv. ayns haurà pahor<sup>37</sup> he dos ayns aprés, ab aygua calda serà scaldada. En la edat de treynte he tres ayns deu caure de loch alt. E deu ésser mordude per algùn ca. E aprés deu haure moltes malalties.

E en la edat de .xl. ayns passarà vn gran perill. E si scaparà viurà .lxxxii. ayns. E en dimarts no's deu rentar lo cap. E seruesca a la Sancta Trinitat e vença tots los perills.

*La planeta del signe següent és la Luna<sup>o</sup>*

La figura del signe appellat Cranch entre [fol. 5v] a mig Juny he dura fins a mig iuliol. Lo infant qui serà nat en lo dit signe serà fort, animós e serà molt anomenat. Parlarà deuant tot home e serà

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probably means 'residence' or 'dwelling place'. The adverb *envers* 'towards' or 'facing' is etymological < L. *VĒRSUS* '*idem*'. In the fourteenth century, the word can also mean 'in the hands of' or 'in the power of' and later 'inverted', none of which fits the present context (DECat 9: 198).

<sup>34</sup> *Tantost*. adv. 'as'; 'as soon as'; 'immediately following'. Later developed other senses: 'thereafter', 'notwithstanding', etc. Characteristic of O. Cat. (DECat 8: 278).

<sup>35</sup> *alegrar-se* < L. *ALACER*, *ALACRIS* 'lively'; 'happy'. This word also has the sense 'to be well or fit' in certain contextes (DECat 1: 170), which more closely fits the context of this passage.

<sup>36</sup> *mal de mara*. 'illness or disease of the uterus'. *mara* 'uterus' < C. L. *MATRIU* '*idem*' (DECat 5: 476).

<sup>37</sup> *pahor*. n. 'fear' < C. L. *PAVORE* '*idem*'. In O. Cat. etymological /v/ and /B/ are absorbed by back vowels. Cf. C. L. *LABORE* 'labor' > *lahor*, etc. (Badia i Margarit 1984: 192).



*Of the Woman*

The girl born under this sign will be warm of heart. And as soon as she gets upset, she will come out of it. She will be hard working, wise, and jocular. She will suffer many tribulations, but she will escape them. Afterwards, she will be honored and well served. And she will often be sickly and troubled until the age of thirty-five years. She will be easily embarrassed, and she will be the mother of children until the age of thirty-seven years. And she will suffer many tribulations. Then without seeking it or desiring it, she will have vengeance over her enemies.

She will not have her first son by her husband. And she will not be well,<sup>6</sup> but she will be delivered from illness with medicine that is pleasing to her. She will say one thing and do another. And she will have a knife-cut. She will suffer pains in the uterus. At the age of fifteen years, she will be sore afraid; and two years afterward, she will be scalded with hot water. At the age of three and thirty years, she will likely fall from a high place. And some dog will likely bite her. Afterwards she will have many illnesses.

At the age of forty years, she will come to great peril. If she should escape, she will live seventy-two years. And on Tuesday, she should not wash her head. May she serve the Holy Trinity, and she will overcome all perils.

*The Planet of the Following Sign is the Moon*

The constellation called Cancer rises [fol. 5<sup>v</sup>] in mid June and lasts until mid July. The boy born under this sign will be strong, spirited, and renowned. He will speak menacingly to all men. He will

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<sup>6</sup> *Alegrar-se*. < L. ALACER, ALACRIS, 'lively', 'happy'. This word also has the sense 'to be well or fit' in certain Catalan dialects (DECat 1: 170), which more closely fits the context of this passage.

gran menassador. Tantost se enfellonirà e durar-ly ha per gran temps. E tendrà bé secret, lo que serà master.<sup>38</sup> E serà pobre fins a .xxx. anys, mes lo bé precebirà. E millor ly sobreindrà.

Après crexent ell en anys, peruindrà en riquesas e los seus beneficis seran en gràcia. Per la amor del pare e mare serà honrat, mes dels strangers<sup>p</sup> serà vituperat. Totas cosas que après començarà vindran en bé. Serà squernidor<sup>39</sup> ho maldiënt. Ab bestias de quotra peus ganjarà. Per quolseuol persona peruindrà a gran dignitat. Serà amat de tres senyors. Haurà riquesa de treball de altri. E per la muller deu ésser més ample en riquesas e haurà molt de bé.

E per sos fills haurà dampnatge e haurà dampnatge de foch. E serà nafrat de ferro e mordut per algùn ca. E caurà de loch alt e serà torbat en aygua. Moltas tribulations haurà en quolseuol loch. Tresor amagat trobarà. En la edat de trente e .iii. anys haurà gran malaltia e en maior edat haurà donatiu de gran senyor. En la edat de set anys haurà malaltia mortal. E si scaparà de aquesta, viurà .LXXX. anys e VIII mesos.

E en dimarts no's rante el cap e passarà bé totas las malalties. E seruesca a mossenyer Sanct Michael<sup>40</sup> e beneuenturadament passarà tots los perills. Tota roba blanca és a ell vtil he lo dimarts mal.

<sup>38</sup> *master*. n. variant of *mester* 'master'; 'teacher'; here fig. 'owner'; 'controller'. Before the Aragonese form *amo* entered the language, *mester* was used both in the etymological sense 'master' and 'teacher' and the figurative sense found here. This sense may betray Franco-Provençal influence. Coromines believes that the 'owner' or 'ruler' sense is also etymological, however, noting that Catalan is the only Romance language to develop the analogical feminine form *mestressa*, 'woman who owns or controls property' (DECat 5: 633). The syntax here is unusual, and one would expect either *de lo que serà master* or a similar subordinate construction.

<sup>39</sup> *squernidor*. adj. 'deceitful' variant of *escarnidor* < *escarnir* 'to play a prank, usually with intention to harm' < Got. \*SKAIRNJAN comp. Engl. *scorn*. The *e* stem may be due to neutralization of /a/ and /e/ in eastern Cat. However, Alcover and Moll state that the form is characteristic of Tarragona (5: 231). Coromines disagrees, noting that *esquernir* is characteristically Occitan (DECat 3: 494).

<sup>40</sup> The use of the proposition *a* to introduce a direct object complement is very rare in O. Cat., but has become more common recently due to Castilian influence (Moll 217).

easily get angry, and his anger will last a long time. And he will be the master of a great secret. And he will be poor until thirty years, but he will gain riches. And better things will come.

Afterwards, growing in years, he will come to riches and his estate will be bountiful. He will be loved by his mother and his father but loathed by strangers. All things he undertakes will come to a good end. He will be deceitful and blasphemous. He will tend beasts of four feet.<sup>7</sup> Some person will help him earn great honor. He will be the beloved friend of three men. He should be generous with his wife, and he will fare well.

And his children will cause him great harm, and he will be hurt by fire. And he will be wounded by iron and bitten by a dog. And he will fall from a high place, and he will nearly drown in water. He will find hidden treasure. At the age of thirty and three years, he will develop a serious illness, and at an older age, he will receive a donation from a great lord. And at the age of seven years, he will have a mortal illness. And if he should escape this, he will live eighty years and eight months.

And on Tuesdays, he should not wash his head, and he will survive all these illnesses. He should serve Saint Michael and he will overcome these dangers with good fortune. All white clothing is helpful to him and Tuesdays are bad.

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<sup>7</sup> *Ganyara* < Germ. \*W AidANJAN 'to work the earth'. This word eventually comes to mean 'to earn' or 'to win' generally. In the medieval texts, it often maintains the original sense 'to exploit the earth'. It is also sometimes used in Catalan to mean 'to earn one's living as a shepherd' or 'to lease animals' (DECat 4: 694–96). As the exact context is unclear, I have translated with the general term 'to tend'.

*De la dona*

[fol. 6r] La infanta ho donzella la qual nexerà sotz dit signe serà fort e animosa, bella e ingeniosa. E no hoirà home *per* elle plorant e serà de cor calda ho superba e iniuriosa. E tindrà en son cor la ira tant com fa lo signe.<sup>41</sup> Per negligencia del pare e mare *en* edat de vuyt anys deu morir *en* foch ho *en* aygua. E si scaparà dit perill lo primer marit no tindrà, mes lauarà<sup>42</sup> lo marit a alguna dona. En edat de .LXXIII. anys serà prop de la mort.

En edat de .xxx. he tres anys los parents a ella propinquès, contre ella tractaran mal. He après vindrà a gran dignitat e consebrà fills de tres marits. He haurà honor estrangera. Per los seus marits serà augmentade e per sos fills haurà flux de sanch. En la edat de quorante anys haurà punt de morir. E si scaparà, viurà per .xxviii. anys més. He totas fortunas prosperament vença si seruirà a mossenyer Sanct Michael. E *en* dimecres no fassa res, mes comèns totes coses en diluns.

*La planeta del signe següent és lo Sol*

La figure del signe de Leo entra a mig juliol e dura fins a mig agost. Lo infant qui serà nat sotz lo dit signe ab millorament tractarà totes cosas. Sobre la patria haurà donatió. Serà ingeniós he animós, he quolseuol cosa que veurà a sos iermans, enuegerà. E no pensarà en lo que farà a tard. Se enfellonirà e si s'enfellonirà, algú no porà reuocar de la ira sinó sol Déu omnipotent.

Haurà dampnatge de sos parents acostats. He sobrepugarà los seus inimichs. [fol. 6v] La primera muller que haurà, lejarà.<sup>43</sup> Passats

<sup>41</sup> *signe*. See note 26 above.

<sup>42</sup> *laurà*. v. fut. variant of *llevarà* < *llevar* 'to take away'; 'to remove'. Here, the sense is 'she will steal'. The word enters Catalan from L. *LĒVĀRE* 'to lift'; 'to remove'; 'to lighten'. However, the word is also used figuratively for 'to collect taxes' and also 'to seize or to remove by force', whence 'to steal'. Cormines reminds us that Llull used the term in *Blanquerna* specifically to refer to the stealing of a wife from her husband (DECat 5: 182).

<sup>43</sup> *lexarà*. 'to permit'; also 'to leave'; 'to abandon' etym. form of *deixar* < *LAXARE*. Although the form *dexar* gained favor slowly, by the mid fifteenth century all literary authors had adopted it as standard (DECat 3: 44). However a fifteenth-century Valencian list of uneducated and rural speech notes both *lexar* and *dexar* as preferable to the older Latinate word *jaquir* (Badia i Margarit 1950–53, Part 1: 147).

*Of the Woman*

[fol. 6<sup>r</sup>] The girl born under this sign will be strong and spirited, beautiful and clever. And no man will cry for her. She will be hot-blooded or haughty and cruel towards men. And she will hold in her heart all the rage indicated by the sign. She should die by fire or water at the age of eight years, owing to the negligence of her father and mother. If she should escape this peril, she will not find her first husband on her own, rather she will steal him from another woman. At the age of seventy-three she will be near death.

At the age of thirty and three years, close relatives will plot against her. Then she will grow in dignity, and she will bear the children of three husbands. And a stranger will bring her honor. Her husbands will increase her wealth, but her sons will cause bloodshed. At the age of forty years, she will be at the point of death. If she should escape, she will live for twenty-eight years more. And all these misfortunes she will overcome and she will prosper if she serves Saint Michael. And on Wednesday she should do nothing; rather she should begin everything on Monday.

*La Planet of the Following Sign is the Sun*

The constellation of Leo enters in mid July and lasts until mid August. The boy born under this sign will make everything he treats better. He will receive a gift in his fatherland. He will be clever and spirited, and he will envy everything his brothers do. He will not think about what he will do later in life. He will become very angry, and if this should come to pass nobody will be able to save him from his wrath except for God Almighty.

Close relatives will bring him harm [fol. 6<sup>v</sup>]. He will overcome his enemies. He will leave his first wife. After thirty years, things

.xxx. anys vindrà en millors partidas. E veurà créixer lo seu bé he prospera fortuna. E haurà donatiu de grans hòmens del qual serà fet rich. E serà turbat en algún riu, per la qual turbació tostemp se dolrà de vn peu. Lo que haurà, non amagarà. E viurà .xl. anys. E si no seruirà mosseny Sanct Pere, morrà pobre. E en dimarts no començ alguna cosa.

*De la dona*

La infanta ho donzella la qual nexerà en dit signe serà noble de animo segons son linatge. Tantost se enfellonirà, he tantost per semblant tornarà en alegria. Serà vergonyosa, ingeniosa, *offensa* animosa. E. Volrà gran bé a tota la familia. Serà casta e liberal e disigosa de saber. Haurà dampnatge per los seus diners. E veurà vengança de sos inimíchs.

En la edat de .xiii. anys haurà dolor al cor e serà molt mestruosa. Aprés ly morrà son pare. E los fills seus morran. E lo primer fill morrà ans que ella. E serà molt maliciosa *en* lo seu coratge. E donarà a mengar e a beure liberalment e pacífica. E aportarà<sup>q</sup> pedras preciosas resplendents ho luents *en* las mans.

E seruesca a mossenyer Sanct Andreu tots los dies de la sua vida. E no fassa res en dimecres e passarà bé tot lo temps de la sua vida; si no, morrà probeleta.

*La planeta del signe següent és Mercuri*

La figura del signe de Virgo<sup>r</sup> entre a mig agost, dura fins a mig setembre.<sup>s</sup> E lo infant qui nexerà sotz lo dit signe parlarà molt moralmente e serà saui. [fól. 7r] Mes en molts actes e fets seus haurà dampnage. E per causa de sos parents acostats serà nafrat. E per lochs ho terras stranyas caminarà—e per moltas prouincias. E si pendrà muller, morrà dit home ans de .xxx. anys. e si no, morrà a causa de la muller.

will look better for him. And he will see his estate grow, and he will prosper. And he will receive a gift from great lords, which will make him rich. He will be hurt in a river, which will always cause him to suffer in one foot. He will hide nothing he has. And he will live sixty years. And if he does not serve Saint Peter, he will die poor. And on Tuesday he should begin nothing.

*Of the Woman*

The girl born under this sign will be noble in accordance with her lineage. As soon as she becomes angry, she will overcome it. She will be full of shame, clever, irksome, and spirited. And she will desire good things for the whole family. She will be chaste, generous, and she will desire knowledge. Her money will bring her to harm. She will have vengeance over her enemies.

At the age of thirteen years, she will have heart pains, and she will suffer heavy menstruation. Afterwards, her father will die. And her children will die. And her first son will die before her. She will be of malicious disposition. And she will offer food and drink liberally. She will wear precious stones, and they will look brilliant or shining on her hands.

May she serve Saint Andrew every day of her life. She should do nothing on Wednesday, and she will fare well all the days of her life. If not, she will die a poor little thing.

*The Planet of the Following Sign is Mercury*

The constellation of Virgo rises in mid August and lasts until mid September. And the boy born under this sign will speak piously and will be wise. But in many acts and deeds, he will come to harm. And he will be wounded by close relatives. He will wander through unknown lands—and through many provinces. And if he takes a wife, he will die before thirty years. And if not, he will die because of a woman.

Las suas riquesas seràn augmentadas. E lo seu secret tindrà he parlarà en la sua matexa pensa, no tractant res de mal. No serà parlar, mes callant així com la lebra. No farà algùn mal sinó forçat. Serà fael; mes per la sua faeltat<sup>44</sup> haurà dampnatge. Mes totas cosas portarà a bon fin. E haurà molts inculpacions; mes no serà vençut per algùn ingeni. Serà beneenturat en totas sements, mes no en bestiar sinó de treball.

Lo dimecres serà a ell vtil per començar totas cosas. Més seruesca mossenyer Sanct Anthoni. E gord-se del digous. E viurà .LXXVII. anys. E passarà totas cosas bé e morrà ab confessió.

### *De la dona*

La infanta ho donzella la qual naxerà sotz lo dit signe serà calda ho prompte<sup>45</sup> de cor. Serà murmurosa. Ab marauella veurà la mort de sos inimichs. E no caminarà per terras stranyes. E per causa de son marit, starà alegre .XIII. anys. E perdrà lo primer marit e lo primer fill, mes secundàriament haurà vna filla, la qual lli farà molt de bé. Serà fael, no adúltera. E haurà molts malalties. E algùn ca la mossegarà. E quont irà a péu, gord-se de passar aygua.

E si serà maridade ab altre marit, haurà vna malaltia. E si scaparà e passarà .xxx. anys; .LXX. anys viurà. E lo dimecres<sup>t</sup> [fol. 7v] porrà començar totas cosas. E seruesca las gloriosas vergens,<sup>u</sup> e gord-se del digous. E passarà tots los<sup>v</sup> infortunis beneenturadement.

<sup>44</sup> *fael*. adj. 'faithful'; *faeltat* n. 'faithfulness'; 'loyalty' < C. L. FĪDĒLIS. Typically found in Eastern Catalan dialects. Standard *fael*; later replaced by learned form, *fidel* (DECat 3: 918–19).

<sup>45</sup> *prompte*. n. 'visible'; 'manifest'. < C. L. PRŌMPTUS 'idem'. This item helps date the edition of the *Tractat*; the first reliable documentation is late fifteenth cent. (viz. Eiximenis. *Llibre de les dones*, cap. 53) (DECat 6: 824).



His riches will multiply. He will keep some things secret, and he will speak in a forthright manner, trying not to do evil. He will not be a talker, rather quiet as a hare.<sup>8</sup> He will do nothing evil unless he is forced. He will be faithful; but his faithfulness will cause him harm. But he will conclude all things well. He will be accused many times; but he will not be overcome by any of these plots. He will be fortunate in work, but not necessarily successful with livestock.

Wednesday will be a good day to begin things. But he must serve Saint Anthony. And he should watch out on Thursday. And he will live seventy-eight years. He will overcome all things well and die with confession.

### *Of the Woman*

The girl born under this sign will be warm-hearted and transparent in her deeds. She will be a gossip. She will be lucky if she sees the death of her enemies. She will not walk through foreign lands. Because of her husband, she will be happy for fourteen years. And she will lose her first husband and her first son. But later she will have a daughter who will do good things for her. She will be faithful, not adulterous. And she will have many illnesses. Some dog will bite her. And when she goes on foot, she must remember to avoid water.

And if she is married to a second man, she will become ill. And if she should escape and survive thirty years, she will live to the age of seventy. She can begin [fol. 7<sup>v</sup>] all things on Wednesday. She should serve the glorious virgin martyrs and be wary of Thursday. Then she will overcome these misfortunes.

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<sup>8</sup> I have translated all figurative language literally to provide a sense of the original text, rather than choose a contemporary colloquialism, such as “quiet as a mouse”.

*La planeta del signe següent és Venus*

La figura del signe appellat Libra entre a mig setembre e dura fins a mig octubre. Lo infant qui naxerà sutz aquest signe haurà bona fama. Serà fornicador. Morrà abans que sa muller e haurà gran dolor en la vn vll, en las orellas, ho en las spallas. Serà frement<sup>46</sup> axí com lo leo. E no starà en loch vnt serà nat mes en altrás terras. En la primera iuuentut no serà rich ne pobre, mes après haurà molts facultats. Per molts terras passarà.

E veura vengança de sos innichs. E haurà dolor de ventrell. E managerà argent ho tresor de altri. En alguns lochs serà maleyt.<sup>47</sup> En amagat loc serà traydor. Per rahó de la baronia del senyor serà fet ric e morrà vell e rich. E vestiduras vermel·las ho blancas seran a ell més vtills. Lo diuendres serà bo per ell e lo diluns mal. E seruesca monssenyer Sanct Matheu e pròsperament passarà los infortunis demont dits.

*De la dona*

La infanta ho donzella la qual serà nada sutz llo dit signe serà bé amigable e serà molt gentil. E amarà molt los seruidors de casa. Lo primer spos seu no amarà. Après per altre se alegrarà. E tractarà molts riquesas. E veurà vengança de sos inimichs. E lo primer infant que haurà serà filla. E haurà vna cultallada. E en edat de .xxi. anys serà molt [fol. 8r] fort acusada. E après morrà pobreleta. Primerament starà bé; après finirà mal sos dies. A la festa de Tots Sancts offeresca vna candela per anima sua.

<sup>46</sup> *fremet*. adj. 'roaring'; 'growling'. < C. L. FRĚMĚRE v. 'to growl'. Also helps to date the *Tractat*. Coromines notes, "molt rar antigament, si bé n'hi ha algún cas espars a la fi de l'edat mitjana". First citation 1480–1490 (DECat 4: 192–4).

<sup>47</sup> *maleyt* adj. 'damned' < C. L. MALE DĪCĚRE, with analogical influence from *beneit* < C. L. BĚNE DĪCĚRE 'to bless' (DECat 1: 762–765).

*The Planet of the Following Sign is Venus*

The constellation of the sign called Libra rises in mid September and lasts until mid October. The boy who is born under this sign will have a quite a reputation. He will be a fornicator. He will die before his wife, and he will have great pain in one eye, in his ears, or in his shoulders. He will be bold as a Lion. And he will not linger in the place he was born but in other lands. And in his early youth, he will not be rich but poor; but later he will become quite resourceful. He will travel through many lands.

And he will find revenge over his enemies. And he will have pain in his belly. He will oversee another man's silver or treasure. In some places, they will curse him. He will be a traitor in a hidden place. A nobleman<sup>9</sup> will make him rich, and he will die old and rich. Red or white garments will be more useful to him. Friday will be a good day for him, and Monday unlucky. He must serve Saint Matthew, and he will overcome these misfortunes with prosperity.

*Of the Woman*

The girl born under this sign will be friendly and well mannered. And she will love the servants of her house. She will not love her first husband. Afterwards, another man will make her happy. And she will handle many riches. And she will have vengeance on her enemies. Her first child will be a girl, and she will have a cut. At the age of twenty-one years, she will suffer a stern [fol. 8<sup>r</sup>] accusation. Afterwards she will die a poor little thing. First she will live well; afterwards she will suffer a terrible end. At the feast of All Saints, offer a candle for her soul.

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<sup>9</sup> The original is unclear. The text reads "baronia del senyor", which might mean "the barony of the lord" or "the lord's manliness". It could also refer to the "manliness" or "nobility" of the fortune-seeker. However the text usually does not refer to the fortune-seeker as *senyor*. The problem is the sense of the original Cat. *baró* 'nobleman, lord with feudal rights'; but also 'virile man'; 'man of great will' (Ger. \*BARO 'a free man, skillful at arms' > L. BARO, -ONIS 'brutal man'; also 'robust or hearty man'). Both readings are a bit odd, but there is not enough context to be sure. Therefore I have adopted the more ambiguous "nobleman".

*La planeta del signe següent és Mars*

La ffigura del signe de Scorpio entre a mig octubre e dura fins a mig nouembre. Lo infant qui nexerà sutz aquest signe haurà bon fat<sup>48</sup> en la vista e hoÿde.<sup>49</sup> E gonyarà sauiesa dels maiors seus e seran lli donats animals de quotra peus. E starà en los lochs domestichs ho vnt són. Haurà patrimoni. E tindrà vn loch stranger solament e ab gran profit en lo qual haurà superior. Las cosas que haurà hagdadas, no amagarà. E veurà crèxer las suas riquesas. E haurà senyal en los peus ho en la spalla de caual ho de mul. E seran lli donades ouellas e seràn multiplicadas.

Més aygua lo turbarà. E serà fet rich per alguna dona e deu ésser nafrat de ferro. E serà fort. En los seus costums e seruicis serà alegre. En la edat de .xxiii. anys vindrà en millors lochs ho terras. E starà bé fins a la vellesa. E haurà tres malalties. E si scaparà, viurà cent anys. Lo digous serà a ell no útil a comensar totas cosas. E vestiduras de bruneta, de roseta, ho vermellas seràn a ell més útils. E seruesca Sancta Magdalena e serà beneuenturat<sup>w</sup> en totas cosas.

*De la dona*

La infanta ho donzella la qual nexerà sutz lo dit signe se envergonyirà tantost e serà pahoruga. E si algú lli farà mal, tostempes lo haurà per auorrir e en odi. Emperò, no veurà vengança de sos inimichs e haurà fills de tres marits. En la primera [fol. 8v] iuuentut serà multiplicade la offensa. Més, après no veurà bon temps més. En la vellesa serà appellade mare de infants. E morrà pobreleta.<sup>x</sup> Lo dimarts serà bo per ella e lo digous lli serà contrari.

<sup>48</sup> *bon fat en la vista. fat. 'fate'. < L FĀTUM 'idem'* Astrological phrase referring to good fortune or positive signs from the stars. Certain stars were thought to rule each part of the body. Many medieval and early-modern almanacs have elaborate woodcuts to illustrate this. Consult, for example, *Reportorio de los tiempos* by Andrés de Li (Ed. Delbrugge 1999).

<sup>49</sup> *hoÿde. n. 'hearing'. Variant spelling of oïda.*

*The Planet of the Following Sign is Mars*

The constellation of Scorpio rises in mid October and lasts until mid November. The boy born under this sign will be fortunate in hearing and seeing.<sup>10</sup> And he will grow in wisdom by his elders, and many four-footed animals will be given to him. He will have servants or live in a house with servants. He will hold an estate. And he will rule a foreign property by himself earning great profit, but he will serve a lord there. He will not hide his deeds. He will see his riches increase. He will have a mark on his feet or on the back of a horse or a mule. He will be given sheep, and they will multiply.

However water will harm him. He will be made rich by a woman, and he will likely be wounded by iron. He will be strong. He will be joyous in actions and deeds. At the age of twenty-three years, he will come to better lands. And he will live well until old age. And he will have three illnesses. If he should overcome them, he will live to be a hundred years old. And brown or pink or red clothing will be helpful to him. He should serve Saint (Mary) Magdalene and he will be fortunate in all things.

*Of the Woman*

The girl born under this sign will be easily ashamed and easily frightened. And if anyone should do her harm, she will forever hold him in contempt or hatred. However she will not have vengeance over her enemies, and she will have children by three husbands. In her early youth [fol. 8<sup>v</sup>], misfortune will multiply. She will never see good times again. In old age, she will become the mother of children. And she will die poor. Tuesday will be a good day for her, and Thursday will be unlucky.

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<sup>10</sup> Literally, "will have a good fate in his hearing and seeing". This astrological phrase signals that the stars or fate will favor him in this regard.

*La planeta del signe següent és Jupiter*

La ffigura de Sagitari entre a mig nouembre e dura fins a mig dezembre. Lo infant qui nexerà sotz aquest signe serà portant ira e haurà las paraulas blanas. Serà liberal e de bona voluntat. Serà treballós e ffornicador. E serà lli donada alguna cosa de altri. E comportarà molts crims ho acusacions, emperò haurà moltas excusacions per causa de bregas.<sup>50</sup> Se alegrarà del mal dels vehíns seus e haurà envege del bé del altri.

E los seus bens liberalment despendrà e per causa de sos parents haurà dampnatge. E serà bon batallador e no confiant en algú. E per semblant algú no confiarà en ell. E si algú hi confiaua ne hauria dampnatge. La primera sposada lli serà donada prop del ffoch e molts hòmens demaneran a mengar. E haurà dampnatge a causa de ella. E lo primer infant, qui serà nat serà mascle, serà donat en adopcíó a altres en fill.

Més tots los seus dies serà pobre segons son linatge. E en la edat<sup>y</sup> de puerícia serà alegre. E en la edat de .xii. anys serà malalt, e tant que serà duptós de la vida. E si scaparà, viurà .lxxx. anys e set dies. E lo digous no's rante lo cap. Seruesca Sanct Xpistòfol, e passarà bé totas fortunas. [fol. 9r]

*De la dona*

La infanta ho donzella la qual serà nada sotz lo dit signe serà molt plena de ira. E<sup>z</sup> per son perlar serà portada en iuy.<sup>51</sup> Haurà lengua falsiera. E perdrà son marit, he tots los seus dias serà vídua. E lo que farà, portarà a conclusió. He haurà moltas acusacions. E en la vellesa sua deu morir a mala mort. Lo dimenge no's rante lo cap e leugerament passarà totas cosas.

<sup>50</sup> *brega*. n. here fig. 'fight'; 'dispute' < Got. BRIKAN 'break' (Conf. Eng. *to break*, Ger. *brechen*, Dut. *breken*). Doc in fourteenth cent.; common in fifteenth (DECat 2: 211-12).

<sup>51</sup> *iuy* n. 'justice'; 'judgement'. Semi-learned form < L JŪDĪCĪUM 'idem'. (DECat 4: 934).

*The Planet of the Following Sign is Jupiter*

The constellation of Sagittarius rises in mid November and lasts until mid December. The boy born under this sign will carry his anger inside but will be soft-spoken. He will be generous and good-willed. He will be a hard worker and a fornicator. And someone will give him a gift. He will suffer many crimes and accusations, but he will work his way through them. He will delight in his neighbor's ill fortune, and he will envy his fellow man.

He will spend liberally, and his relatives will cause him harm. He will be a good fighter, and he will trust in no one. Likewise no one will trust him. And anyone who did trust him would be the worse for it. His first wife will be given to him near fire and many men will ask (her) for food. He will come out badly because of her. And his first child, who will be a boy, will be given up for adoption to others.

However he will be poor all his days in accordance with his lineage. As a small boy, he will be happy. And at the age of twelve, he will become ill, fearing for his life. If he should get through this, he will live to eighty years and seven days. And on Thursdays he must not wash his head. He should serve Saint Christopher, and he will overcome these misfortunes. [fol. 9<sup>r</sup>]

*Of the Woman*

The girl born under this sign will be full of wrath. And her tongue will get her into trouble with the law. She will have a false tongue. And she will lose her husband, and the rest of her days she will be a widow. And whatever she begins, she will bring to conclusion. And she will often be accused. And in her old age, she will die a terrible death. On Sunday, she must not wash her head, and she will easily overcome all things.

*La planeta del signe següent és Saturnus*

La figura del signe appellat Capricorni entre a mig dezembre e dura fins a mig Janer. Lo infant qui nexerà sotz aquest signe serà amigable e iracundo. No creurà volentés. Serà enuegos e<sup>aa</sup> incrèdul. Serà maligne de son cor. E en après comportarà e callarà volentés.

Tantost se enfellonirà e tantost tornarà en gràcia. E haurà moltes riquesas, mes enmalaltir-s'à<sup>52</sup> de què serà molt ocupat. E serà nafrat de ferro. He deu caure de loch alt. E viurà sensa muller. He amarà més de degut los seus amichs, mes serà separat de ells. E passarà las mars, he sercarà moltes terras. E no morrà en lo loch vnt serà nat. Haurà sperança en ell matex, emperò morrà de cultell. Lo dimenge no's rante lo cap. Seruesca mossenyer Sanct Johan Babtiste; e passarà bé los seus treballs.

*De la dona*

La infanta ho donzella la qual nexerà sotz a[fol. 9v]quest<sup>bb</sup> signe serà senyoriuol. E gouernar-s'à *per* son consell. Qui la volrà saber, molt ly plaurà.<sup>53</sup> E de son cor serà calda. E seran ly donats animals de quotra peus. Ab los vehins haurà mal. E no serà dita mara *de* infants. E starà en lochs no conaguts. E viurà .LV. anys e morrà en lo seruici de Déu. Seruesca mossenyer Sanct Lorens e passarà bé los seus infortunis.

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<sup>52</sup> *enmalaltir-s'à*. v. fut. 'He will become ill'. The separation of the infinitive from the future morpheme, known as the "split future construction", is common in early Romance. The Romance future forms developed from the Lat. periphrastic construction HABĒO + INFINITIVE. The two elements could appear in reverse order, and the atonic object complements frequently appeared between them. In Catalan, as in Castilian, the split futures appear, albeit with decreasing frequency, until about the sixteenth century (Penny 174).

<sup>53</sup> *saber*. v. inf. 'to know'. Here, 'to know carnally'.



*The Planet of the Following Sign is Saturn*

The constellation of the sign called Capricorn rises in mid December and lasts until mid January. The boy born under this sign will be friendly and easily angered. He will not be gullible. He will be envious and mistrustful. He will have a cruel heart. Later he will come to act and speak obediently.

He will be easily angered, and he will quickly return to good humor. And he will have great wealth, but he will become ill and be greatly troubled. He will be wounded by iron. He will likely fall from a high place. And he will live without a wife. He will love his friends more than he should, but he will be separated from them. He will journey over water, and he will seek many lands. And he will not die in the place where he was born. He will trust only himself, but he will die by the knife. He must not wash his head on Sunday. May he serve Saint John the Baptist, and he will overcome all travail.

*Of the Woman*

The girl born under [fol. 9<sup>v</sup>] this sign will be lordly. Men will be ruled by her counsel. Any man who knows her carnally will be greatly pleased. She will be hot-blooded. And she will be given animals with four feet. She will have troubles with her neighbors. She will not be the mother of children. She will travel to unknown places. And she will live fifty-five years and die in God's service. She should serve Saint Laurence, and she will overcome her misfortunes.

*La planeta del signe següent és Saturnus*

La figura del signe appellat Aquari entre a mig janer he dura fins a mig febrer. Lo infant qui nexerà en aquest signe serà en odi e maluolença als hòmens. E ab algún home de bé passarà alguna peregrinació. E serà enuegós e fornicador. E haurà la sua lengua molt deffrenada. E serà misericordiós. E dirà vna cosa he farà altra. Serà perfidiós. E per home stranger haurà riquesas.

E en la primera edat serà necligent he confiant en la fortuna he sauiesa sua. E si haurà muller, tots los dies de la sua vida starà ab ella. E morrà en peregrinació de sancts. Lo dissapte serà a ell bo e lo diluns contrari. Seruesca mossenyer Sanct Jachme, he passarà bé los seus infortunis.

*De la dona*

La infanta ho donzella la qual nexerà sotz lo dit signe serà misericordiosa. E de son patrimoni ho propri haurà bonas venturas. E serà prouada contra ella infàmia de alguna cosa vera. E [fol. 10r] haurà senyal en la ma dreta e haurà vna gran morsura de algún animal. E serà tocade de foc. E no viurà molt. E no's rante lo cap en dimenge. E totas vestiduras grogas seran a ella vtils. E seruesca mossenyer sanct Jachme.

*La planeta del signe següent és Jupiter*

La figura del signe appellat Piscis entre a mig febrer e dura fins a mig Marcz. Lo infant qui serà nat sotz lo dit signe haurà cura tostemps de dones. E serà rich en iuuentut e vellesa. E vindrà en gran honor. E serà fet rich per la mort del pare e mare seus. E serà desigós de saber. E serà prompte en eloqüencia he ben parlar ab gràcia.

Serà mentirós. E serà ingeniós, de poch coratge. No serà egal ab lo pare e mare seus. E treballs de altri possehirà ab iustas forças e drets per que lyu seran mesos agoyts.<sup>54</sup> E après que haurà cent

<sup>54</sup> *lyu seràn mesos agoyts*. This difficult phrase may betray an imperfection in the incunable. The item *lyu* is most likely a misspelling of the indirect object complement

*The Planet of the Following Sign is Saturn*

The constellation of the sign known as Aquarius rises in mid January and lasts until mid February. The child who is born under this sign will be held in contempt by his fellow men. And he will go on a pilgrimage with a man of good stature. And he will be envious and a fornicator. And he will have a loose tongue. And he will be merciful. And he will say one thing and do another. He will be a traitor. And an unknown man will bring him wealth.

In his early youth he will be careless, trusting too much in his own luck and wisdom. And if he should take a wife, he will remain with her for the rest of his days. And he will die on a pilgrimage. Saturday will be good for him and Monday unlucky. He should serve Saint James, and he will overcome misfortune.

*Of the Woman*

The girl born under this sign will be merciful. And her estate will bring her good fortune. She will be proven guilty for some evil thing she did. And she will have a sign on her right hand and a great bite by some animal. And she will be wounded by fire. She will not live long. She must not wash her head on Sunday. And all yellow garments are good for her. She should serve Saint James.

*The Planet of the Following Sign is Jupiter*

The constellation of the sign called Pisces rises in mid February and lasts until mid March. The boy born under this sign will always be cared for by women. He will be rich in youth and old age. And he will come to great honor. His father and mother's death will make him rich. And he will desire to know things. He will be speak gracefully and eloquently.

He will be a liar. And he will lack courage. He will not be equal in standing to his father and mother. And he will be dealt travails by another man, and he must watch out for such trouble. After he

anys, los inimichs lo mataran.<sup>55</sup> En dissapte no's rante ell cap. Lo digous serà a ell bo. E seruesca Sanct Michael e passarà bé los seus infortunis.

*De la dona*

La infanta ho donzella la qual serà nada sutz lo dit signe *per* causa de la sua lengua haurà dempnatge. E de son cors no serà honrada. De part de pare e mare haurà bona honor. E irà molt ab furor. E après peruindrà ly la heretat del pare e mare. E pendrà marit. E après mige edat, morrà vella e richa sens gràcia dels hòmens. Seruesca la gloriosa Verge Maria e serà prosperada. [fol. 10v]

E las ditas prenosticacions segons los signes e planetas del cel se poden errar en tres maneras. La primera en la scriptura dels noms dels hòmens e dones. Car deu attendrà lo qui farà la cauculació *per* saber lo indicati ab qualas letras deuan ésser scrits dits noms. La segona és en lo nombre que sia près bé segons las letras vertaderas. La tersa és que dit nombre sia vertaderament summat e partit segons en lo principi és dit. [fol. 11r]

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*ly*. The verbal phrase *seràn mesos agoyts* presents two possible readings. Either *seràn mesos* is a verbal phrase meaning 'they (the travails) will be dealt to him' or a verb with the complement *mesos* 'months.' The item *agoyts* in either case is probably an adj. meaning 'ominous'; 'cause for concern or vigilance'. *Agoyts* is not documented previously in Catalan and, unless it is a printer's error, most likely constitutes a hapax. For these reasons, the editor has not altered the original form of the phrase. The term *agoyts* is most closely associated to *guaita* n. 'the act of watching or guarding'; 'vigilance'; 'those responsible for the watch'. This word derives from Frankish \*WAHTA and is related to Ger. and Dut. *wacht* and Eng. *watch*. Documented from the thirteenth cent., this item occurs in many iterations: e.g. *guait* m. 'the watch'; *guaitada* 'act of watching'; *guaitès* adj. (seventeenth cent.) 'watchman'; *aguaitar* 'to look out for'; *guaita!* 'look out!', etc. It also occurs in place names (Alcover and Moll 6: 431–32; DECat 4: 688). The diphthong /oi/ (e.g. in *guaita!*) represents dissimilation and is still commonly heard in rural speech throughout the Catalan heartland.

<sup>55</sup> Note the use of the future tense instead of the subjunctive mood after this adverbial of time. The text characteristically uses future after *quan* (*passim*).

reaches the age of one hundred, his enemies will kill him. On Saturdays, he must not wash his head. Thursday will be good for him. He must serve Saint Michael, and he will overcome his misfortune.

*Of the Woman*

The young woman or damsel born under this sign will find that her tongue gets her into trouble. She will not be of noble heart. But her mother and father will hold her in esteem. She will be full of rage. Later on in life, she will gain an inheritance from her father and mother. And she will take a husband. And after middle age, she will die old and rich and without the favor of men. She should serve the Blessed Virgin Mary, and she will prosper. [fol. 10<sup>v</sup>]

And these prognostications according to the signs and planets of the heavens can err in three ways. The first is in the writing of the names of the men and women. Because he who performs the calculation must pay close attention to how those names are spelled. The second is in the writing of the numbers, which must be carefully copied according to the right letters. The third is that the name must be properly added and divided as it is said in the beginning. [fol. 11<sup>r</sup>]

## II

Seguexan-se altres prenostichs generals als quals los hòmens són naturalament subiectas segons sentència de philòsophs.

Diuen los philòsophs, com Pictagoras e Ptholomeu,<sup>56</sup> que quolseuol signe del zodiach ha tres cares—ço és lo cap, lo ventre e la cauda ho cua—sots los quals caps ho algú de aquells lo home nex. E conexe en aquesta manera quont lo home nat haurà tantas letras en lo seu nom propri, quantas ne ha la mare sua. Lauons<sup>57</sup> lo infant ho infanta és nat en lo cap del signe, axí com Johan fill e la mare Leona; aquests han eguals letras en lo nombre de lurs noms. E tal qui serà nat en lo cap del signe serà leugier e pobre.

Lo qui serà nat en la coha del signa haurà més letras en son nom que no haurà la mare, axí com Arnaud lo fill e Guine la mare. E aquest, tal per quont demonstre ésser nat en la coha del signe de la costellació retrogradant,<sup>58</sup> tostemps serà pobre e diffortunat. Si la mare en lo seu nom habunda més en letras que lo fill ho filla demonstra qu'és nat ho nada en lo ventre del signe e aquest tal serà rich en lo mon e beneuenturat<sup>cc</sup> e prosperant tostemps en bens e en lo pou de oppulència.

<sup>56</sup> *Pictagoras et Ptolemeu*. Commonly cited authorities for astrology and numerological symbolism. Claudius Ptolemy (Egypt. *floruit* 100–178 AD) was primarily known for his astronomy but also an important astrological source in the Middle Ages. Many pseudo-epigraphic works (e.g. *Centiloquium*) bear his name. Pythagorus (Samos. *floruit* 530 BC) is famous primarily for his contributions to geometry. However the neo-Pythagorean school developed a complex system of numerical symbolism that infuses later works of prognostication. The passage glossed here is not in any major Ptolemaic or Pythagorean source. The attribution is a literary topos, commonly found in early literature and is intended to give the text greater authority.

<sup>57</sup> *lauons*. Dialectal form of *llavors* (cf. Fr. *lors*, Occ. *laors*). adv. 'then'; conj. 'so'; 'then'; 'therefore' < V. L. \*ILLĪS HŌRĪS 'in those hours'. The form in *-ns* was not common until c. 1400–50. The ending appears by analogy to other plurals in *-ns*, i.e. *mà/mans* and to other adverbs in *-s*. (DECat 5: 112–16).

<sup>58</sup> *retrogradant*. adj. and gerund. 'retrograde'. All planets except the sun and the moon appear to halt and then move backwards through the zodiac. This "retrograde" movement was considered a negative omen. The effect is an optical illusion produced by our changing earthly perspective of the individual planets' orbits around the sun. Believing that the universe was geocentric, Aristotle needed a complex system of epicycles to explain this movement. See Bouché-Leclercq for treatment of retrograde movement in different schools of astrology (110–121).

## II

Here follow general prognostications that men are naturally subject to as told by the philosophers.

Philosophers such as Pythagoras and Ptolemy say that every sign of the zodiac has three faces—that is the head, the belly and the tail—under which each man is born. And this is how one finds out how many letters a man will have in his name and how many his mother will have. So the boy or girl born in the head of the sign, such as Johan the son and his mother Leona, will have the same number of letters in their names. And those born in the head of the sign will be weak and poor.

He who is born in the tail of the sign has more letters in his name than his mother has, for example Arnaud the son and Guine the mother. And this man, having been shown to be born in the tail of the sign of a retrograde constellation, will always be poor and unfortunate. If the mother has more letters in her name than the son or daughter, then it is demonstrated that the boy or girl is born in the belly of the sign and that he or she will be rich in this world and blessed, prospering always, in a sea of wealth.

Strologia encara més demonstra que lo qui serà nat sotz signes directes dominarà e senyoregarà los qui seran nats sots los signes prostrats. E si seran dos nats sotz los signes drets, la vn [fol 11v] volrà senyoragar l'altre. E si seran dos nats sotz los signes prostrats ho inclinats la vn volrà ésser submès al altre. E lo que's diu de hòmens deu ésser entès de dones. Los signes directes són: Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpius, Sagitarius. Los signes prostrats ho inclinats són: Capricornus, Aquarius, Piscis, Aries, Taurus, Geminis.<sup>59</sup>

E per ço deuan ésser notadas las concordants<sup>dd</sup> fortunes e discordants. E las que són causa de riquesas e las que són causa de pobresas a ffi *que* las bonas sian seguidas e las mallas fugidas. E maiorament com algú mal astre<sup>60</sup> ho fat és dominant sobre algún home, de aquell home quascú deu fugir per quant souint vn per altra ve a perdió ho conporta<sup>cc</sup> gran mal. La qual cosa és causada per la disposició de natura, disposant las cosas mundanals per què algú no pot saber ho demanar més larga rahó.<sup>61</sup>

Axí emperò, com la natural disposició ha donats e dona infortunis segons *que* demont és dit, vsant de molta sauiesa per obuiar a dits astres e infortunis e aquells subiugar ho fugir, ha volguda demostrar la manera e medicina per *aquells* squiuar. La qual és partida en *infinidas* maneras e generalment en pedras preciosas e erbas; e encara animals; e segells<sup>ff</sup> ho pedras ab figuras; arbres e plantes, e moltas altres cosas de las quals largament se lig<sup>62</sup> en lo *Libre de la*

<sup>59</sup> Compare to Classical Arabic astrologer Al-Bīrūnī: “Signs of the ascending half are said to be signs of long or direct ascension . . . The crooked signs are also called ‘obedient’ . . . (229). *Tencar*, an astrological miscellany (c. 1440), assigns the terms *drets* and *prostrats* to the same signs (Vela Palomares 1997: 100).

<sup>60</sup> *mal astre* ‘bad star’. This passage may refer to one of the fixed stars. More likely, however, it refers to Saturn or Mars. Ptolemy considered these planets the most universally malefic (*Tetrabiblos* 1.5).

<sup>61</sup> In contrast to the forward-looking defense of astrology captured in the proverb, “The wise man will rule the stars,” this passage presents a typically medieval view of curiosity. Seeking to know the mind of God or to unveil the mysteries of creation bordered on the sin of *vanitas*. In this passage of the *Tractat de prenostication*, one hears a faint echo of St. Augustine: “Let not man say, ‘What is this? What is that?’ Let him not say it, let him not say it; for he is man” (*Confessiones* 7.6.10).

<sup>62</sup> se lig. v. pres. ‘one reads’. llegir inf. < C. L. LÈGÈRE ‘gather’; ‘collect’; ‘read’ (DECat 5: 129–34). The verb has two reflexes in Catalan. One is conjugated with an inchoative infix: *llegeixo*, *llegeixes*, etc. The other is conjugated without the infix:



Astrology also proves that those born under the straight signs will rule over those born under the prostrate or crooked signs. And if two men are born under straight signs, one [fol. 11<sup>v</sup>] will seek to conquer the other. And if two men are born under the prostrate or crooked signs, one will choose to submit to the other. And what is said of men must be understood to be true of women as well. The straight signs are: Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius. The prostrate or crooked signs are: Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus, and Gemini.

And therefore the corresponding good and bad fates must be noted, and those that are the cause of wealth and those that are the cause of poverty, so that the good ones may be followed and the bad ones avoided. And generally speaking, if some bad star or fate rules a man, you should avoid this man because often one or the other of you will come to great harm or misfortune. Such things are caused by nature, which arranges worldly affairs in such way that no man may truly understand them or ask for further explanation.

Nevertheless, although nature has dealt out and deals out misfortune as demonstrated above, it also provides the manner and medicine to avoid such misfortune. This wisdom can be found in infinite ways, most commonly in precious stones and herbs; and even in animals; in seals or in stones inscribed with images; and many other things that one may read about at length in the *De proprietatibus rerum*.

*proprietat de las cosas naturales*.<sup>63</sup> E més són occasions psalms e paraules en las quals nostro Senyor ha po[fol. 12r]sada virtut.<sup>64</sup> E per ço diu lo Ptholemeu que lo home saui senyoragarà los astres.<sup>65</sup>

És encara més concordança en theologia que la ànima és superior e lo cors inferior, lo qual no pot fer alguna cosa sens la ànima. E axí las stelas, planetas, et signes tots són fets a lahor de Déu omnipotent per amor del home. E lo home no és fet per amor de'ls. Car lo home no va al astre, mes lo astre va al infant nat com diu Sanct Gregori en la homelia Mathe .ii.: cum natus esset Ihesus *et cetera*.<sup>66</sup> Lo que és entès segons la diuinitat car lo Creador ha creadas totas cosas a ell obeyns.

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*lig, lïges*. The shorter forms are etymological. In modern times, the inchoative form has replaced them as the standard, while the short forms are dialectal. Moll states that the short forms characterize Catalan and Balearic speech (91), while Coromines says they are Valencian (DECat 5: 129).

<sup>63</sup> *Libre de la propietat de las cosas naturales*. No documented Cat. edition exists of this thirteenth century miscellany, *De proprietatibus rerum*, by Bartholomaeus Anglicus. The work is a popular encyclopedia of the properties of plants, animals, rocks, etc. replete with quotations of classical and patristic sources. The work was widely known in the Middle Ages and used as a text at the University of Paris (Thorndike 2: 405). Heinrich Mayer produced the first Spanish edition in Toulouse, 1494.

<sup>64</sup> In the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church officially condemned sympathetic magic, the use of magical formulas as a countermeasure to spells or negative omens (even when accompanied by psalms and paternosters). Arnau de Vilanova's attitude towards such incantations, for example, was inconsistent. He provided some detail on how to use such magic in his *Breviarium*, and it got him into trouble with the Inquisition (Thorndike 2: 852–3). Most medieval authors believed in magic, but thought it was evil. That the *Tractat* should advocate such practice as theologically sound places it at the vanguard of the cultural changes that would eventually lead to greater acceptance of the occult sciences during the Renaissance.

<sup>65</sup> *Lo home saui senyoragarà los astres*. 'The wise man shall rule the stars.' Trans. of Latin proverb, "homo sapiens dominabitur astris", attributed to Ptolemy, although not found in the *Almagest*, *Centiloquium*, or *Tetrabiblos*. The maxim, repeated often in the Middle Ages, illustrates that astrological prognostication is compatible with the Christian doctrine of free will (Tester 176–77). Cf. explicit to Tresbèns's *Tractat de astrologia* (mid fourteenth cent.): "... Mas per bons companyns, de bona ley e de bona natura, per bones doctrinas, los vicis e los mals se aminven e's corregexen e bon esforç mal astre venç, en tal guisa que saviesa sobresenyorege tota mala ventura e astre e enclinacions desordenades" (fol. 85<sup>r</sup>; Ed. Vernet et al.).

<sup>66</sup> *Cum natus esset Ihesus* . . . These are the first words of Matthew 2, which tells the story of Christ's birth. "Car lo home . . ." is a gloss from Pope Gregory the Great's homily on this chapter: "Sed si euangelii verba pensamus: quibus de eadem stella dicitur: usque dum veniens staret supra ubi erat puer. Dum non puer ad stellas: sed stella ad puerum cucurrit. Si dici liceat, non stella fatum pueri: sed fatus stelle is qui apparuit puer fuit." (Pastoralis sancti Gregorii pape fol. 50<sup>r</sup>–50<sup>v</sup>. transcription mine). Pope Gregory points out that since the star followed the Christ child, heavenly bodies are subject to Divine will and do not control human fate.

And even better are the Psalms and the holy words in which our Lord has pla[fol. 12<sup>r</sup>]ced virtue. This is why Ptolemy says that the wise man will rule the stars.

And it is even more in line with theology to say that the soul is superior and the body inferior in that it can do nothing without the soul. Thus the stars, planets, and signs are all the work of God Almighty because of his love of man. And man is not made for the love of them. Because the child does not go to the star, rather the star goes to the newborn child as Saint Gregory says in his homily on Matthew 2: *cum natus esset Ihesus et cetera*. This must be understood to mean that the Creator has made all things obedient to Him.

E no és entès segons la humanitat *influxa* ho subiecta als astres. Car scrit és: fecit Deus duo luminaria magna vt sint in signa et tempora. Solem in potestatem diei lunam et stellas in potestatem noctis et cetera.<sup>67</sup> Per *que* és manifest que lo cors humà és regit per los còssors sobre celestials, per ordinació de Déu influïnts en los terrenals axí com diu lo psalmista: ordinatione tua perseuerat dies quoniam omnia seruiunt tibi. Estatem et ver tu plasmasti *et* cetera.<sup>68</sup> E aquestas cosas són dels secrets de natura concordés ab la sciència *theological*.<sup>69</sup>

E aquests prenòstichs són trets dels secrets dels filòsofs, los quals tú, lector, si'ls entendràs no deurias obrir ne menys demostrar *per* tal que dels hòmens indoctes per lur falsa e indocte experiència no vingan en derrisió. Ne deurian ésser donats sinó a caríssims e doctes amichs.<sup>69</sup> Amén. Deo gracias. [12v]<sup>hh</sup>

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The homily is a clear invective against the *matematici*. Here the *Tractat* cleverly subverts the passage to demonstrate that the stars do affect human beings, but only indirectly by passing on God's divine will. This move allows the *Tractat* to wield the homily in support of astrological divination. See Chapter 1 for further discussion.

<sup>67</sup> "Solem in potestatem diei quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius. Lunam et stellas in potestatem noctis quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius" (Psalm 135: 8–9 Vulgate). "... the sun to rule over the day, for his steadfast love endures for ever; the moon and stars to rule over the night, for his steadfast love endures for ever..." (Psalm 136 RSV).

<sup>68</sup> "Tuus est dies et tua est nox. Tu fabricatus es auroram et solem; tu feciste omnes terminos terrae, aestatem et ver tu plasmasti ea" (Psalm 73: 16–17 Vulgate). "Thine is the day, thine also the night; thou hast established the luminaries and the sun. Thou has fixed all the bounds of the earth; thou hast made summer and winter" (Psalm 74: 16–17 RSV).

<sup>69</sup> Explicit. The conclusion is typical of works on occult sciences, and models can be found in ancient times. Cf. Vettius Valens, "I adjure you, most honoured brother, and all those being initiated into this systematic art . . . to keep all these things hidden, and not to share them with the uninstructed, except those who are worthy and able to guard and receive them rightly" (cit. in Tester 48–49).

And it is not to mean that humanity influences or controls the stars. Because it is written: *fecit Deus duo luminaria magna ut sint in signa et tempora. Solem in potestatem diei lunam et stellas in potestatem noctis et cetera.* Because it is manifest that human body is controlled by the greater celestial bodies by God's express orders, and they influence earthly beings as the Psalmist says: *ordinatione tua perseverat dies quoniam omnia serviunt tibi. Estatem et ver tu plasmasti et cetera.* And these things come from the secrets of nature, and they are in accordance with theological science.

And these prognostications are taken from the secrets of the philosophers, which you, reader—If you understand them—must not reveal or show to others lest untrained men through their false words and lack of experience should come to harm. Neither should they be revealed to anyone other than beloved and wise friends. *Amen. Deo gratia.*

## APPARATUS CRITICUS

The following apparatus is not based on a *stemma codicum*, as there are no other witnesses of the *Tractat de prenostication* to collate. The apparatus collects editorial corrections, suppressions, and additions. The reading found in the source text appears first, followed by a colon and the editorial change.

Quire signatures, used in the assembly of the book, are indicated in the apparatus as well. Spacing, punctuation, and capitalization are the responsibility of the editor. An asterisk indicates a character or characters that are unreadable due to an imperfection in the incunable.

- 
- <sup>a</sup> scritas posat la fortuna: scritas la fortuna  
<sup>b</sup> striure: scriure  
<sup>c</sup> la: las  
<sup>d</sup> signature: a .i.  
<sup>e</sup> Editorial addition  
<sup>f</sup> gemnis: Geminis  
<sup>g</sup> La spera de Jupiter lo signe de Sagitarii e de Capricorni e aquarii: La spera de Jupiter lo signe de Sagitarii e Piscis. La spera de Venus lo signe de Libra e de Taurus. La spera de Saturnus lo signe de Capricorni e Aquarii. Haplogy. The printer or copyist skipped a line of text, which has been reinserted.  
<sup>h</sup> acceptas: acceptats  
<sup>i</sup> accusa: accusat  
<sup>j</sup> del: dels  
<sup>k</sup> signature .aii.  
<sup>l</sup> La planeta del signe següent es Mars e Venus: son Mars e Venus.  
<sup>m</sup> strangers: strangers  
<sup>n</sup> ell: ella  
<sup>o</sup> La planeta del signe següent e dela luna.: La planeta del signe següent es la Luna  
<sup>p</sup> strangers: strangers  
<sup>q</sup> aport: aportà  
<sup>r</sup> virg\*: virgo  
<sup>s</sup> E dura fins a ang setembre: E dura fins a mig setembre  
<sup>t</sup> signature b .i.  
<sup>u</sup> glorilosas vergens: gloriosas vergens  
<sup>v</sup> os: los  
<sup>w</sup> beneventarat: beneventurat  
<sup>x</sup> pobrelleta: pobreleta  
<sup>y</sup> la la edat: la edat  
<sup>z</sup> E e: E  
<sup>aa</sup> Editorial addition  
<sup>bb</sup> Signature b .ii.  
<sup>cc</sup> beneueuturat: beneuenturat  
<sup>dd</sup> concordauts: concordants  
<sup>ee</sup> conportar: conporta  
<sup>ff</sup> segell: segells  
<sup>gg</sup> theologal: theological  
<sup>hh</sup> Folio 12<sup>v</sup>. left blank.

## NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION

The English translation has been written to convey as closely as possible the sense of the original text. Where literal translation would render the English difficult to follow or unnecessarily unclear, a freer translation style has been adopted. Where possible, I have tried to allow the naiveté of the rural fifteenth-century Catalan as well as any stylistic formalities and innovations to bleed through in translation. For example, I occasionally adopt the English subjunctive or invert the order of subject and object in ways that parallel the archaizing verb-final constructions we occasionally find in the Catalan text. To further convey the popular nature of the original, at times I also employ an Anglo-Saxon vocabulary word, such as “clever”, even when a close Latinate equivalent, such as “ingenious”, exists.

The redundancies and inconsistencies in the original are left there, as they are important to an understanding of the way the text was composed by bringing together a variety of often conflicting sources.

Explanatory footnotes are located in the Catalan edition. When the observation pertains specifically to the English translation or is aimed at the English-speaking reader, I have included it in the translation.

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APPENDIX A

PALEOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPTION

[fol. 1r]

[fol. 1v]

[fol. 2r]

{HD. Tractat de prenostication dela vida natural d<e>ls  
homens segons los signes e planetas celestials  
e propietats lurs demonstren.}

{IN2.} [A]quest es lo libre lo qual vertaderament  
demonstre ab la taula seguent e segons  
que aci es figurade ab lo no<m>bre sobre las letras  
aqui scritas posat la fortu<n>a ho dubtos euenime<n>t  
los quals deuen al home ho done sdeuenir se-  
gons lo signe en lo qual sera nat. Lo qual signe  
si diligentment quolseuol experimentador inue-  
stigat volra pora trobar ab la taula deuell pin-  
tade ho figurade e ab la segue<n>t declaratio. la for-  
tuna aell naturalament sdeuenidora. Tostemps  
que vuelles saber ho experimentar la tua for-  
tuna ho ventura. Scriu lo nom de aquell del  
qual volras inuestigar la fortuna e lo nom dela  
mare per semblant. E veuras ab qualas letras  
tals noms se deuen s(t)[c]riure. E apres serca en la  
taula deuell scrita quascuna letra d<e> aquellas ab  
las quals dits noms seran scrits. E pren lo  
nombre scrit sobre quascuna de las dits letras  
de endos los dits noms. E apres aiusta tots  
los dits nombres sobre quascuna letra de dits  
noms scrits en vna summa. E apres pertex dita  
summa per parts eguals de .xxviii. e lo qui re-  
stara fetas la[s] ditas parts eguals per vint e vuyt  
ho si per ventura no hi restaua algun nombre  
Sino que totas las parts restassen eguals.  
vegas en la ordinatio seguent apres la taula en  
qual signe tal nombre de .xxviii. egual ho no

bastant a aquell sia posat. E aquell signe a tu  
demonstrat per dit nombre pendras e legiras la

{CW. a. .i.}

[fol. 2v]

proprietat de aquell ab lo qual entendras los ac-  
tes teu`<s> a quina fortu<n>a naturalame<n>t son subiectas

{DIAG=. |i|

ii|

iiii|

iiii|

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iii|

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 z| }

Co<m>pte lo nom del home e d<e>la mare p<er> las letras d<e>mo<n>t scritas. E apres aiuste ensemps tots los no<m>bres sobre quascuna de ditas letras posats e aquells aiustats en vna su<m>ma p<e>rtex los p<er> .xxviii. E sin restara .i. ho .ii. sera del signe de Aries. Si tres ho quotra ho .v. sera d<e>l signe d<e> tauro. Sin restara<n> .vi. ho .vii. sera d<e>l signe d<e> gemi<n>[i]s. sin restara<n> .viii. ho .viiii. ho .x. sera d<e>l signe d<e>. Cra<n>cer Si restara<n> .xi. ho .xii. sera d<e>l signe de leo. Si<n> restara<n> .xiii. ho .xiiii. ho .xv. sera del signe d<e> v<er>go. Si<n> restara<n> .xvi. ho .xvii. sera d<e>l signe de libra. Si<n> restara<n> xviii. ho .xviii. ho .xx. sera d<e>l signe de scorpio. Si<n> restara<n> .xxi. ho .xxii. sera d<e>l signe d<e> sagitari. Sin restara<n> .xxiii. .xxiiii. ho .xxv. sera d<e>l signe d<e> Capricorni. Si restara<n> .xxvi. ho .xxvii. sera d<e>l signe d<e> Aquarii. Si<n> restara<n> .xxviii. sera d<e>l signe de piscis. E sapias q<ue> quascu d<e>ls dits signes te <con>uenie<n>cia ab los planetas sego<n>s la com<m>una se<n>te<n>-

cia dels strolechs. En tal manera q<ue> la spera del Sol te sots si lo signe d<e> Leo. la spera d<e>la lu<n>a lo signe de Crancer. La spera de Mars lo signe de aries e de scorpio. La spera del Mercurii lo signe de geminis he virgo. La spera de Jupiter lo signe de Sagitarii e d<e> Capricorni e aquarii.

[fol. 3r]

{RUB. La planeta de Aries es Mars}

La ffigura de aries. signe lo qual regne de mig

mes de mars fins a mig mes de Abril es parti-  
de en la sua significacio segons lo linatge de  
masculi ho femeni. he comencant a declarar del  
masculi com a mes noble se troba que lo infant  
qui sera nat sotz tal signe sera ffort animos e in-  
genios he se agradara de delits. sera ben affor-  
tunat en optenir donatius. en totas viandes se-  
ra habundos. E la maior part delas cosas que  
volra fer portara en effecte. En la primera iuuen-  
tut sera perfidos e iracundo e peregrinara molt  
e lexara los seu`<s> e ab angustias viura. e si pendra  
muller per ella sera fet rich. E moltras riquesas ly  
sera<n> do<n>ades. e los seu`<s> officis sera<n> accepta[t]s molt  
en gracia. sera v<er>gonyos e possehira trebals e ho-  
nors daltri. he lo que haura no u negara a algu.  
entre auariciosos res no conseruara. Ne tembra  
ira ne contencio. passats .xxiiii. anys en millors  
partidas viudra e lauons no pendra muller se-  
gons que demont es dit. mes pendran altra la  
qual sera ya mare de infants. De quolseuol no-  
table persona sera inculpat ho accusa[t]. e haura  
de aco discucio. lo que fara en la primera edat  
no crexera molt ni aminuara molt. mes alquantant  
sera leuger en vendre e en comprar en donar e en  
pendre. e nunque sera de maluestat reprobat hau-  
ra las peraules molt suaus. del[s] seu`<s> inimichs ve-  
ura venganca. dolor de ventrell comportara. lo  
q<ue> tractara dira e<m>pero apres fara altra. Per causa  
d<e> pe<n>as d<e> do<n>as viura ab gra<n> furor prop d<e>  
dotze

{CW. a. .ii.}

[fol. 3v.]

mesos. he sera tocat ho scaldat ab aygua calda  
En lo temps ho edat sua de .xxiii. anys haura e  
comportara molts treballs. passats .xxv. anys se-  
ra turbat de veri. he enla edat d<e> quoranta anys  
sera fet rich he peruindra a gran dignitat. he si  
passara las ditas edats e treballs viura .lxxxvii.  
anys e sis mesos. E gorde se de rentar lo cap en  
diluns. Hage empero en bona deuocio mossen-

yer sanct Marti. he al altar seu seruesca e passara be las ditas venturas.

{RUB. Dela fembra}

La fembra qui nexera en dit signe sera offesa e laboriosa. e de personas honorables haura vergonyas. dels bens de son pare e mare tostemps se alegrara. e quolseuol cosa que sera feta p<er> son consell sera portade en effecte. per lochs ignots passara ho peregrinara. he apres a bonas parts vendra. molts fills haura. e gord<e> se que nos casas ab son amich ho anamorat. En la edat de dezeset anys haura infirmitat. apres sera be dotade. e si scapara viura fins que vege los seu`<s> cabells fins als caps dels dits. e nos rante lo cap en dimarts ne en dimecres ne en digous. e hage en deuocio sanct Marti. he als seus infortunis contrastara.

{RUB. La planeta del signe segue<n>t es Mars e Venu`<s>.

} La figura del signe appellat Taurus entra a mig abril e dura fins a mig maig. e lo infa<n>t qui nexera en tal signe haura algun senyal en los genitiu`<s> ho en lo prepuci. e sera bo<n> lector. e si sera capella haura moltas riquesas. e aquellas gonyara im-  
[fol. 4r]

perant la sua variable fortuna per lochs a ell no conaguts. he confiara molt en la sua sauiesa ho virtut sua. e sera peregrí. e fara tot lo que haura en voluntat de fer. lo consell que li donaran los amichs seus no pendra. mes fara d<e> son cap e co<n>-sell. e sera antos. en lo loch vnt sera nat no stara de patria mudara e no sera negligent. aquest empero haura riquesas passats .xxxiiii. anys. E deu pendre donzella ho verge per muller. e si pendra viude mora la muller ans que ell. e si pe<n>dra verge e apres viude dela primera no stara molt be. dela segona sera mes rich. e la terca muller lo soterrara. En la edat de sinc anys deu hauer vna plaga en lo cap o en lo bras ho en lo ventre. ho haura mors d<e> algun ca. e haura senyal algu de foch ho d<e> ferro lo qual lo turbara molt. hau-

ra set malalties fins a .xxiiii. anys e sera mes en preso. e complits aquests mals apres .xl. anys sera rich fins ala senectut. e morra rich en lo loch vnt sera nat. Empero haura mal de vlls. he no fassa res en diluns. lo diuendres empero sera bo per ell. e seruesca la gloriosa verge Maria e sera beneuenturat.

{RUB. Dela dona}

La infanta ho donzella qui nada sera sotz lo dit signe sera en los seus fets duptosa murmurosa vergonyosa offesa suspitosa als strange[r]s he hostes. e lo que entendra dir de altri. pensara sia seu. ho dit per ella. e sera represa de algu fals home. empero exira de aqui alguna veritat. per be ly sera retribuit mal. e volra experime<n>tar mudan-[fol. 4v]

sa. he haura mal en los vlls e en los peus en la edat menor de dotze anys. he si pora scapar lo dit terme viura fins a .lxxx. anys e seruesca a nostro senyor deu. e viura beneue<n>turadament. haura senyals en la cara ho en la vngla ho en la nucla del coll. en diue<n>dras ne en dissapte no fassa res. e seruesca la gloriosa verge Maria e obuiara als perills.

{BLNK: 1 line left blank.}

{RUB. La planeta del signe seguent es Mercurii}

La figura de Geminis entra en mig maig e dura fins a mig Juny. E lo infant qui nexera en dit signe sera robust de cors. he de statura sera egual a dit signe ho ala cosa magicament per aquell figurada. e sera volgut de dones. he sera bo en los fets humanals. he sera Joyos. e bon inuentor de subtilitats delas arts mecanicas. sera saui. temperat. vtil en consells. lo que volra pensara be fer. he per enuega li sera apposat algun gran crim. he delas suas riquesas sera be senyor. he haura baralla he questions ab los acostats seus he domestichs. e veura venganca de sos inimichs. creura volentes. e per semblant

sera cresegut. sera ben morigerat. he sera honrat  
mes que los altres homens segons lo seu linat-  
ge. he sera impossible que no hage coctura d<e> foc  
he lesura de ferro. animal de quotra peus lo na-  
frara. he dins son cors haura dolor en los ner-  
uis. he trobara diners amagats. ab sa muller tre-  
ballara fort. E en la edat de .xxx. anys lo seu star  
sera envers orient.

[fol. 5r]

Enla sua iuuentut haura moltes malalties. E  
si peruindra a mige edat viura cent anys he tres  
mesos. En en dimarts nos rante lo cap. E robas  
nouas pot vestir. E seruesca sancta Margarida  
he beneue<n>turadament passara totas cosas.

{RUB. Dela dona}

La infanta ho donzella la qual naxera sotz lo  
dit signe sera calda de cor. E tantost passara  
en gracia e ta<n>tost sen retornera. E sera officiosa  
Sauia iocosa. E haura moltes tribulacions.

mes de totas scapara. Apres haura honor he  
seruici. E sera passient turbada he laboriosa fins  
a .xxxv. anys. Sera vergonyosa. E sera appel-  
lade mare de infants fins a .xxxvii. anys. E sera  
turmentada per moltes tribulacions. E no vo-  
lent ho desigant haura venganca de sos inimic-  
hs. Lo primer fill no sera donat aella per son  
marit nos alegrara. Mes ab medicina a ell pla-  
sent sera deliurade. Dira vna cosa he fara altra  
E haura vna cultellada mal de mara haura. E en  
edat de .xv. anys haura pahor he dos anys a-  
pres ab aygua calda sera scaldada. En la edat  
de treynte he tres anys deu caure de loch alt. E  
deu esser mordude per algun ca. E apres deu  
haure moltes malalties. E en la edat d<e> .xl. anys  
passara vn gran perill. E si scapara viura .lxxii.  
anys. E en dimarts nos deu rentar lo cap. E  
seruesca ala sancta trinitat e venca tots los pe-  
rills.

{RUB. La planeta d<e>l signe segue<n>t e d<e>la luna}

La figura del signe appellat Cranch entre  
 [fol. 5v]  
 a mig Juny he dura fins a mig juliol. Lo infant  
 qui sera nat en lo dit signe sera fort Animos E  
 sera molt anomenat parlara deuant tot home  
 E sera gran menassador. Tantost se enfellonira  
 e durar ly ha per gran temps. E tendra be secret  
 lo que sera master. E sera pobre fins a .xxx. anys  
 Mes lo be precebira. E millor ly sobreindra  
 apres crexent ell en anys peruindra en riquesas  
 E los seu`<s> beneficis seran en gracia per la amor  
 del pare e mare sera honrat. mes dels strange[r]s se-  
 ra vituperat. Totas cosas que apres come<n>cara  
 vindran en be. sera squernidor ho maldient. ab  
 bestias d<e> quotra peu`<s> ganyara per quolseuol per-  
 sona perui<n>dra a gran dignitat. sera amat d<e> tres  
 senyors haura riquesa de treball de altri. E per  
 la muller deu esser mes ample e<n> riquesas e haura  
 molt de be. e p<er> sos fills haura da<m>pnatge e haura  
 dampnatge de foch. e sera nafrat de ferro. e mor-  
 dut per algun ca. e caura de loch alt. e sera torbat  
 en aygua. moltas tribulations haura en quolse-  
 uol loch. Tresor amagat trobara. en la edat de  
 trente e .iii. anys haura gran malaltia. e en maior  
 edat haura donatiu de gran senyor. En la edat  
 de set anys haura malaltia mortal. e si scapara  
 de aquesta viura .lxxx. anys e viii mesos. E en di-  
 marts nos rante el cap. e passara be totas las ma-  
 laltias. e seruesca a mossenyer sanct michael. e be-  
 neuenturadament passara tots los perills. Tota  
 roba blanca es aell vtil he lo dimarts mal.

{RUB. De la dona}

[fol. 6r]

La infanta ho donzella la qual nexera sotz dit  
 signe sera fort. e animosa e bella e ingeniosa e no  
 hoyra home p<er> elle plorant e sera de cor calda ho  
 superba e iniuriosa. e tendra en son cor la ira ta<n>t  
 com fa lo signe. per necligentia del pare e mare e<n>  
 edat d<e> vuyt anys deu morir e<n> foch ho e<n> aygua



e si scapara dit perill. lo primer marit no tendra Mes lauara lo marit a alguna dona. En edat de .lxxiii. anys sera prop dela mort. En edat de .xxx. he tres anys los parents a ella propinques contre ella tractaran mal. he apres vindra a gran dignitat e consebra fills de tres marits. he haura honor strangera. per los seus marits sera augmentade. e per sos fills haura flux de sanch en la edat de quorante anys haura punt de morir. e si scapara viura per .xxviii. anys mes, he totas fortunas prosperament venca si seruire a mossenyer sa<n>ct michael. e<n> dimecres no fassa res. mes comens totes coses en diluns

{RUB. La planeta del signe seguent es lo sol}

La figure del signe d<e> leo entra a mig iuliol. e dura fins a mig Agost. lo infant qui sera nat sutz lo dit signe ab millorament tractara totes cosas sobre la patria haura donatio sera ingenios he animos he quolseuol cosa que veura a sos iermans enuegera. e no pensera en lo que fara a tard se enfellonira e sis enfellonira. algu no pora reuocar dela ira si no sol deu omnipotent. haura dampnatge de sos parents acostats. he sobre pugara los seus inimichs.

[fol 6v]

La primera muller que haura lexara. Passats .xxx. ayns vindra en millors partidas. E veura creixer lo seu be he prospera fortuna. E haura donatiu de grans homens del qual sera fet rich E sera turbat en algun riu per la qual turbacio tostemp se dolra de vn peu. Lo que haura non amagara. E viura .xl. ayns. E sino seruire mosseny sanct Pere morra pobre. E en dimarts no comenc alguna cosa.

{RUB. Dela dona}

La infanta ho donzella la qual nexera en dit signe sera noble de animo segons son linatge Tantost se enfellonira he tantost per semblant tornara en alegria. Sera vergonyosa ingeniosa offe<n>sa animosa. E volra gra<n> be a tota la familia

sera casta. E liberal E disigosa de saber. Haurra dampnatge per los seus diners. E veura venganca de sos inimichs. En la edat de .xiii. anys haura dolor al cor e sera molt mestruosa. Ap<re>s ly morra son pare. E los fills seus morra<n>. E lo primer fill morra ans q<ue> ella. E sera molt maliciosa e<n> lo seu coratge. E donara a me<n>gar e a beure liberalme<n>t e pacifica. E aport pedras p<re>ciosas resple<n>de<n>ts ho luents e<n> las ma<n>s. E seruesca a mosse-nyer sanct Andreu tots los dies d<e>la sua vida E no fassa res en dimecres. E passara be tot lo temps dela sua vida sino morra pobreleta  
 {RUB. La planeta d<e>l signe segue<n>t es Mercuri}  
 La figura del signe de virg[\*o] entre a mig Agost  
 E dura fins a (an)[mi]g sete<m>bre E lo i<n>fant qui nexera sotz lo dit signe p<ar>lera molt moralme<n>t e sera saui  
 [fol. 7r]

Mes en molts actes e fets seus haura dampnatge. E per causa de sos parents acostats sera nafrat. E per lochs ho terras stranyas caminara. e per moltas prouincias. E si pendra muller morra dit home ans de .xxx. anys. e sino morra a causa dela muller las suas riquesas seran augmentadas. E lo seu secret tindra he parlara en la sua matexa pensa. no tractant res de mal. no sera parlar. mes callant aixi com la lebra. No fara algun mal sino forcat. Sera fael. mes per la sua faeltat haura dampnatge. Mes totas cosas portara a bon fin. E haura moltas inculpacions. mes no sera vencut per algun ingeni. Sera beneenturat en totas sements. mes no en bestiar. sino de treball. Lo dimecres sera aell vil per comencar totas cosas. Mes seruesca mossenyet sanct Anthoni. E gord se del digou`<s>. E viura .lxxvii. anys E passara totas cosas be e morra ab confessio.  
 {RUB. Dela dona}

La infanta ho donzella la qual naxera sotz lo dit signe sera calda ho prompte de cor. sera murmurosa. ab marauella veura la mort de sos inimichs. E no caminara per terras stranyes. E per

causa de son marit stara alegra .xiiii. anys. E p<er>-  
dra lo primer marit e lo primer fill. Mes secundariament haura vna filla la qual lli fara molt de be. Sera fael no adultera. E haurar moltas malalties. E algun ca la mossegara. E quont ira a peu gord se de passar aygua. e si sera maridade ab altre marit haura vna malaltia. e si scapara e passara .xxx. anys .lxx. anys viura. e lo dimecres (CW. b. .i.)

[fol. 7v]

porra comencar totas cosas. e seruesca las gloriosas vergens e gord se del digou`<s>. e passara tots [ ]os infortunis beneuenturadement

{RUB. La planeta del signe

seguent es venus}

La figura d<e>l signe appellat libra e<n>tre a mig sete<m>-bre e dura fins a mig octubre. lo infant qui naxera sotz aquest signe haura bona fama. sera fornicador morra abans que sa muller e haura gra<n>dolor en la vn vll. e en las orellas ho en las spallas sera frement axi com lo leo. e no stara en loch vnt sera nat mes en altrs terras. En la primera iuuentut no sera rich ne pobre mes apres haura moltas facultats per moltas terras passara. e veura venganca de sos inimichs. e haura dolor de ventrell. e managera argent ho tresor de altri e<n> alguns lochs sera maleyt En amagat loc sera traydor. per raho dela baronia del senyor sera fet ric. e morra vell e rich e vestiduras vermelas ho blancas sera<n> a ell mes vtills. lo diuendres sera bo per ell. e lo diluns mal. e seruesca mo<n>-ssenyer sanct matheu e prosperament passara los infortunis demont dits.

{RUB. De la dona}

La infanta ho donzella la qual sera nada sotz llo dit signe sera be amigable e sera molt gentil. e amara molt los seruidors d<e> casa. lo primer spos seu no amara. Apres per altre se alegrara. e tractara moltas riquesas. e veura ve<n>ganca de sos inimichs. e lo primer i<n>fant q<ue> haura sera filla. e ha-

ura vna cultallada. e e<n> edat d<e> .xxi. anys sera molt  
[fol. 8r]

Fort acusada. E apres morra pobreleta. prime-  
rument stara be. apres finira mal sos dies. ala fe-  
sta de tots sancts offeresca vna candela per ani-  
ma sua

{RUB. La planeta del signe  
seguent es mars.}

La ffigura del signe de scorpio entre a mig octu-  
bre e dura fins a mig nouembre. lo infa<n>t qui ne-  
xera sotz aquest signe haura bon fat en la vista  
e hoyde. e gonyara sauiesa dels maiors seu`<s>. e se-  
ran lli donats animals de quotra peu`<s>. e stara e<n>  
los lochs domestichs ho vnt so<n> haura patrimo-  
ni. e tindra vn loch stranger solamente ab gran  
profit en lo qual haura superior. las cosas que  
haura hagudas no amagara. e veura crexer las  
suas riquesas. e haura senyal en los peus ho en  
la spalla de caual ho de mul. e seran lli donades  
ouellas e seran multiplicadas. mes aygua lo tur-  
bara. e sera fet rich per alguna dona. e deu esser  
nafrat de ferro. e sera fort en los seus costums e  
seruicis sera alegra. En la edat d<e> .xxiii. anys vin-  
dra e<n> millors lochs ho terras E stara be fi<n>s a la  
vellesa. e haura tres malalties. e si scapara viura  
cent anys lo digou`<s> sera a ell no vtil a come<n>sar  
totas cosas e vestiduras de bruneta d<e> roseta ho  
vermellas sera a ell mes vtils. e seruesca sancta  
magdalena e sera beneue<n>tarat en totas cosas

{RUB. De la dona}

La i<n>fa<n>ta ho do<n>zella la q<ua>l nexera sotz lo dit sig-  
ne se e<n>v<er>gonyira ta<n>tost. e sera pahoruga. e si algu  
lli fara mal toste<m>ps lo haura per auorrir e en odi  
Empero no veura venganca de sos inimichs  
e haura fills de tres marits. En la primera  
[fol. 8v]

iuuentut sera multiplicade la offensa. mes apres  
no veura bo<n> temps mes. En la vellesa sera appe-  
llade mare de infants. e morra pobrelleta. lo di-  
marts sera bo per ella elo digous lli sera contrari

{RUB. La planeta del signe  
seguent es iupiter}

La ffigura d<e> sagitari entre a mig nouembre e dura fins a mig dezembre. Lo infant qui nexera sotz aquest signe sera portant ira e haura las paraulas blanas sera liberal e de bona voluntat. sera treballos e ffornicador. e sera lli donada alguna cosa de altri. e comportara molts crims ho acusacions empero haura molts excusacions per causa de bregas se alegrara del mal dels vehins seus. e haura envege del be del altri E los seus bens liberalment despendra. e per causa de sos parents haura dampnatge. E sera bon batallador e no confiant en algu. e per semblant algu no confiara en ell. e si algu hi confiaua ne hauria dampnatge. La primera sposada lli sera donada prop del ffoch e molts homens demaneran a mengar. e haura dampnatge a causa de ella. e lo primer infant qui sera nat sera mascle sera donat en adopcio a altres en fill. Mes tots los seus dies sera pobre segons son linatge. e en la (la) edat de puericia sera alegra. e en la edat de .xii. anys sera malalt. e tant que sera duptos de la vida e si scapara viura .lxxx. anys e set dies E lo digou`<s> nos rante lo cap seruesca sanct xp<ist>ofol e passara be totas fortunas.

[fol. 9r]

{RUB. Dela dona.}

La infanta ho donzella la qual sera nada sotz lo dit signe sera molt plena de ira. E (e) per son perlar sera portada en iuy. haura lengua falsiera. E perdra son marit. he tots los seus dias sera vidua. E lo que fara portara a conclusio. he haura molts acusacio<n>s. E en la vellesa sua deu morir a mala mort. Lo dimenge nos rante lo cap. e leugerament passara totas cosas.

{RUB. La planeta del signe  
seguent es Saturnus.}

La figura del signe appellat Capricorni entre

a mig dezembre. e dura fins a mig Janer. Lo infant qui nexera sotz aquest signe sera amigable e iracundo. no creura volentes. sera enuegos. incredul. sera maligne de son cor. E en apres comportara. e callara volentes. Tantost se enfello-nira. e tantost tornara en gracia. E haura mol-tas riquesas. mes enmalaltirsa de que sera molt ocupat. E sera nafrat de ferro. he deu caure de loch alt. E viura sensa muller. he amara mes de degut los seus amichs. mes sera separat de ells E passara las mars he cercara moltas terras. E no morra en lo loch vnt sera nat. haura speran-ca en ell matex. empero morra de cultell. Lo di-me<n>ge nos rante lo cap. Seruesca mossenyer sa<n>ct Johan babbiste. e passara be los seu`<s> treballs.

{RUB. Dela dona}

La infanta ho donzella la qual nexera sotz a-

{CW. b. .ii.}

[fol. 9v]

quest signe sera senyoriuol. e governarsa p<er> son consell. Qui la volra saber molt ly plaura. E de son cor sera calda. E seran ly donats animals de quotra peus. ab los vehins haura mal. E no sera dita mara d<e> infants. E stara en lochs no co-naguts. E viura .lv. anys e morra en lo seruici de deu. Seruesca mossenyer sanct Lorens. e pas-sara be los seus infortunis.

{RUB. La planeta del signe seguent  
es Saturnus.}

La figura del signe appellat Aquari entre a mig Janer. he dura fins a mig Febrer. Lo infant qui nexera en aquest signe sera en odi e maluo-lenca als homens. E ab algun home de be passa-ra alguna peregrinacio. E sera enuegos. e forni-cador. E haura la sua lengua molt deffrenada. E sera misericordios. e dira vna cosa he fara al-tra. e sera perfidios. E per home stranger haura riquesas. E en la primera edat sera necligent he

confiant en la fortuna he sauïesa sua. E si haura muller tots los dies dela sua vida stara ab ella. E morra en peregrinacio de sancts. Lo dissapte sera a ell bo. e lo diluns contrari. Seruesca mossenyer sanct Jachme. he passara be los seus infortunis.

{RUB. Dela dona}

La infanta ho donzella la qual nexera sotz lo dit signe sera misericordiosa. e de son patrimoni ho propri haura bonas venturas. E sera prouada contra ella infamia de alguna cosa vera. E [fol. 10r]

haura senyal en la ma dreita. he haura vna gran morsura de algun animal. E sera tocade de foc. e no viura molt. E nos rante lo cap en dimenge. E totas vestiduras grogas seran a ella vtills. E seruesca mossenyer sanct Jachme.

{RUB. La planeta del signe següent es Jupiter.}

La figura del signe appellat Piscis entre a mig Febrer. e dura fins a mig Marcz. Lo infant qui sera nat sotz lo dit signe haura cura tostemps d<e> dones. E sera rich en iuuentut e vellesa. E vindra en gran honor. e sera fet rich per la mort del pare e mare seus. E sera desigos de saber. e sera prompte en eloquencia. he ben perlar ab gracia. Sera me<n>tiros. e sera ingenios. de poch coratge. No sera igual ab lo pare e mare seu`<s>. E treballs de altri possechira ab iustas forcas e drets p<er> que lyu sera<n> mesos agoys. E apres que haura cent anys los inimichs lo mataran. En dissapte nos rante ell cap. lo digous sera a ell bo. E seruesca sanct Michael e passara be los seus infortunis.

{BLNK: 1 line left blank.}

{RUB. Dela dona}

La infanta ho donzella la qual sera nada sotz lo dit signe p<er> causa dela sua lengua haura dempnatge. E de son cors no sera honorada. De part de pare e mare haura bona honor. e ira molt ab

furor. E apres peruindra ly la heretat del pare e mare. E pendra marit. E apres mige edat morra vella e richa sens gracia d<e>ls homens. Seruesca la gloriosa verge Maria e sera prosperada.

[fol. 10v]

E las ditas prenosticacions segons los signes e planetas del cel se poden errar en tres maneras La primera en la scriptura dels noms dels homens e dones. car deu atte<n>dra lo qui fara la caulacio p<er> saber lo indici ab qualas letras deua<n> esser scrìts dits noms.

La segona es en lo nombre que sia pres be segons las letras vertaderas. La tersa es que dit nombre sia vertaderament summat e partit segons en lo principi es dit.

[fol. 11r]

Seguexan se altres prenostichs generals als quals los homens son naturalament subiectas segons sentencia de philosophs.

{BLNK: 1 line left blank.}

Diue<n> los philosophs co<m> Pictagoras e Ptholomeu que quolseuol signe del zodiach ha tres cares co es .lo cap. lo ventre e la cauda ho cua sots los quals caps ho algu de aquells lo home nex. E conex se e<n> aq<ue>sta manera quont lo home nat haura tantas letras en lo seu nom propri quontas ne ha la mare sua lauons lo infant ho infanta es nat en lo cap del signe axi com iohan fill e la mare leona aquests han eguals letras e<n> lo nombre d<e> lurs noms. e tal qui sera nat en lo cap del signe sera leugier e pobre

Lo qui sera nat en la coha del signa haura mes letras en son nom que no haura la mare. axi co<m> arnaud lo fill. E guine la mare e aquest tal p<er> quont demonstre esser nat en la coha del signe d<e> la costellacio retrogradant tostemps sera pobre e diffortunat.

Si la mare en lo seu nom habunda mes en letras que lo fill ho filla demonstra ques nat ho nada en lo ventre del signe e aquest tal sera rich



en lo mon e beneue(u)[n]turat e prosperant tostemps  
en bens e en lo pou de oppulencia

Strologia encara mes demonstra que lo qui se-  
ra nat sotz signes directes domi<n>ara e senyorega-  
ra los qui seran nats sots los signes prostrats  
e si seran dos nats sotz los signes drets la vn  
[fol. 11v]

volra senyoragar laltre. e si seran dos nats sotz  
los signes prostrats ho inclinats la vn volra  
esser submes al altre. e lo ques diu de homens  
deu esser entes de dones

Los signes directes son cancer leo virgo libra  
scorpius sagitarius. Los signes prostrats ho  
inclinats son. capricornus aquarius piscis ari-  
es taurus geminis

E per co deuan esser notadas las concorda(u)[n]ts  
fortunas e discordants. e las que son causa de  
riquesas e las que son causa de pobresas a ffi q<ue>  
las bonas sian seguidas e las mallas fugidas.

E maiorament com algu mal astre ho fat es do-  
minant sobre algun home de aquell home qua-  
scu deu fugir per quant souint vn per altra ve a  
perditio ho conportar gra<n> mal. la qual cosa es  
causada per la disposicio de natura disposant  
las cosas mundanals per que algu no pot saber  
ho demanar mes larga raho

Axi e<m>pero com la natural disposicio ha donats  
e dona infortunis segons q<ue> demont es dit v-  
sant de molta sauiesa per obuair a dits astres e i<n>-  
fortunis e aquells subiugar ho fugir ha volgu-  
da demostrar la manera e medicina per a<que>lls  
squiuar. la qual es partida en i<n>finidas maneras  
e generalment en pedras preciosas e erbas. E  
encara animals e segell[s] ho pedras ab figuras ar-  
bres e plantes e molts altres cosas delas qu-  
als largament se lig en lo libre de la propietat  
de las cosas naturals. e mes son occasions psal-  
ms e paraules e<n> las quals nostro senyor ha po-  
[fol. 12r]

sada virtut. E per co diu lo Ptholemeu que lo

ho<m>e saui senyoragara los astres Es encara mes  
 concordanca en theologia que la anima es su-  
 perior e lo cors inferior lo qual no pot fer algu-  
 na cosa sens la anima. e axi las stelas planetas et  
 signes tots son fets a lahor de deu omnipotent  
 per amor del home. e lo home no es fet per a-  
 mor d<e>lls. car lo home no va al astre mes lo astre va  
 al infant nat com diu sanct Gregori e<n> la ho-  
 melia. mathe .ii. {LAT. Cum natus esset ihesus <et> cetera.}  
 lo que es entes segons la diuinitat. car lo crea-  
 dor ha creadas totas cosas a ell obeynts e no  
 es entes sego<n>s la humanitat i<n>fluxa ho subiecta  
 als astres. car scrit es {LAT. ffecit deus duo luminaria  
 magna vt sint in signa et tempora. Sole<m> in po-  
 testatem diei lunam et stellas in potestate<m> noctis  
 et cetera.} Per q<ue> es manifest que lo cors huma  
 es regit per los cossors sobre celestials per ordi-  
 nacio de deu influints en los terrenals axi com  
 diu lo psalmista. {LAT. ordinatione tua perseuerat dies  
 quoniam omnia seruiu<n>t tibi. Estatem et ver tu  
 plasmasti <et> cetera.} E aquestas cosas son dels secrets  
 de natura concordades ab la sciencia theolo[gi]c]al.  
 {BLNK: 1 line left blank.}  
 E aquests prenostichs son trets dels secrets  
 dels philosophs los quals tu lector sils enten-  
 dras no deurias obrir ne menys de mostrar p<er>  
 tal que dels homens indoctes per lur falsa e in-  
 docte experiencia no vingan en derrisio ne deu-  
 rian esser donats si no a carissims e doctes a-  
 michs Amen deo gracias  
 [12v]

FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION OF THE  
*TRACTAT DE PRENOSTICATION DE LA VIDA*

(Courtesy of the Biblioteca de Catalunya)

**Tractat de prenotication de la vida natural dels  
homens segons los signes e planetas celestials  
e proprietats lurs demonstren.**

quest es lo libre lo qual vertaderament  
demonstre ab la taula seguent e segons  
que aci es figurade ab lo nòbre sobre las letras.  
aqui scrias posat la fortuna bo dubtos euenimēt  
los quals deuen al home bo done sdeuenir se  
gons lo signe en lo qual sera nat. Lo qual signe  
si diligentment quolsuol experimentadoz inue  
stigar volra pora trobar ab la taula deual pin  
tade bo figurade e ab la seguēt declaratio. la for  
tuna aell naturalament sdeuenidora. Lo temps  
que vultes saber bo experimentar la tua for  
tuna bo ventura. Scriu lo nom de aquell del  
qual volras inuestigar la fortuna e lo nom de la  
mare per semblant. E veuras ab qualas letras  
tals noms se deuen scriure. E apres serca en la  
taula deuall scrite quascuna letra d' aquellas ab  
las quals dits noms seran scrius. E pren lo  
nombre scrit sobre quascuna de las ditas letras  
de endos los dits noms. E apres aiusta tots  
los dits nombres sobre quascuna letra de dits  
noms scrius en vna summa. E apres perter dita  
summa per parts eguals de. xxviii. E lo qui re  
stara fetas la ditas parts eguals per vint e vuyt  
bo si per ventura no hi restaua, algun nombre  
Sino que totas las parts restallen eguals.  
vegas en la ordinatio seguent apres la taula en  
qual signe tal nombre de. xxviii. egual bo no  
basant a aquell sia posat. E aquell signe a tu  
demonstrat per dit nombre pendras e legiras la

a. .i.



proprietat de aquell ab lo qual entendras los ac  
tes te<sup>9</sup>a quina fortia naturalamet son subiectas

i	ii	iii	iiii	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiiii	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii	xxiiii	xxv	xxvi	xxvii	xxviii	xxix	xxx	
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	v	x	y	z								

Lõpte lo nom del home e òla mare p las letras  
ò mòt scritas. E apzes aiuste en semps tots los  
nòbres sobre quascuna de ditas letras posats e  
aquells ajustats en vna sùma pter los p. xxviii.  
E sin restara. i. bo. ii. sera del signe de Aries. Si  
tres bo quotra bo. v. sera òl signe ò tauro. Sin  
restarã. vi. bo. vii. sera òl signe ò gemis. Sin re/  
starã. viii. bo. viiii. bo. x. sera òl signe ò Crãcer  
Si restarã. xi. bo. xii. sera òl signe de leo. Si resta  
rã. xiii. bo. xiiii. bo. xv. sera del signe ò ògo. Si  
restarã. xvi. bo. xvii. sera òl signe de libra. Si re/  
starã. xviii. bo. xviii. bo. xx. sera òl signe de scoz  
pio. Si restarã. xxi. bo. xxii. sera òl signe ò sagita  
ri. Sin restarã. xxiii. xxiiii. bo. xxv. sera òl signe ò  
Capricorni. Si restarã xxvi. bo. xxvii. sera òl sig  
ne ò Aquari. Si restarã. xxviii. sera òl signe de  
piscis. E sapias q̄ quascu òls òlts signes te  
pueniècia ab los planetas segòs la còmunã sc̄e  
cia dels strolechs. En tal manera q̄ la spera del  
Sol te sots si lo signe ò Leo. la spera òla lùã lo  
signe de Crancer. La spera de Mars lo signe  
de aries e de scozpio. La spera del Mercuri lo  
signe de geminis be virgo. La spera de Jupiter  
lo signe de Sagitarii e ò Capricorni e aquari.

La planeta de Aries es Mars

La figura de aries. signe lo qual regne de mig mes demars fins amig mes de Abril es partit de en la sua significacio segons lo linatge de masculi bo femeni. be comencant a declarar del masculi com a mes noble se troba que lo infant qui sera nat sota tal signe sera sfort animos e ingenios be se agradara de delits. sera ben affortunat en optenir donatius. en totas viandes sera habundos. E la maiora part delas cosas que voltra fer portara en efecte. En la primera iuuentut sera perfidos e iracundo e peregrinara molt e lexara los se<sup>r</sup> e ab angustias viura. e si pendra muller per ella sera fet rich. E moltas riquesas ly sera doades. e los se<sup>r</sup> officis sera acceptas molt en gracia. sera hgonpos e possibira trebals e bonozs daltre. be lo que baura non negara a algu. entre auariciosos res no conseruara. Ne tembraira ne contencio. passats. xliii. anys en millores paridas viudra elauons no pendra muller segons que de mont es dit. mes pendran altra la qual sera ya mare de infants. De quolsuol notable persona sera inculpat bo accusa. e baura de aco discucio. lo que fara en la primera edat no crepera molt ni aminuara molt. mes alguntant sera leuger en vendre e en comprar en donar e en pendre. e nunque sera de maluestat reprobata baura las peraulas molt suaus. del se<sup>r</sup> inimichs veltura venganca. doloze de ventrell compositara. lo q tractara dira epezo apzes fara altra. Per causa d'peas d' doas viura ab gra furoz prop d' doze

a. .ii.

mesos. be sera edeat bō scaldat ab aygua calda  
 En lo temps bo edat sua de. xxxiii. anys baura e  
 comportara molts treballs. passats. xxxv. anys se  
 ra turbat de veri. be en la edat d' quozanta anys  
 sera fet rich be peruindra a gran dignitat. be si  
 passara las ditas edats e treballs viura. lxxxvii.  
 anys e sis mesos. E gorde se de rentar lo cap en  
 diluns. Dage empero en bona deuocio mollen  
 per sanct Marti. be al altar seu seruesca. e passa  
 ra be las ditas venturas.

#### De la fembra

La fembra qui nexera en dit signe sera offesa e  
 laboriosa. e de personas bonozables baura ver  
 gonyas. dels bens de son pare e mare tostemps  
 se alegrara. e quolsuol cosa que sera feta p son  
 consell sera portade en effecte. per locbs ignots.  
 passara bo peregrinara. be apzes a bonas parts  
 vendra. molts fills baura. e gozd se que nos ca  
 sas ab son amicb bo enamozat. En la edat de  
 dezeset anys baura infirmitat. apzes sera be do  
 tade. e si scapara viura fins que vege los se9ca/  
 bells fins als caps dels dies. e nos rante lo cap  
 en dimarts ne en dimecres ne en digous. e bage  
 en deuocio sanct Marti. be als seus infortumis  
 contrastara.

La planeta del signe seguēt es Mars e Uen9.  
 La figure del signe appellat Taurus entra amig  
 abril e dura fins amig maig. e lo infāt qui nex  
 ra en tal signe baura algun senyal en los geni9  
 bo en lo pzepeci. e sera bō lector. e si sera capella  
 baura molts riquesas. e aquellas gonyara im

pérant la sua variable fortuna per lochs aell no  
 conaguis. be confiara molt en la sua santiésa bo  
 virtut sua. e sera peregrí. e fara tot lo que baura  
 en voluntat de fer. lo consell que li donaran los  
 amicbs seus no pendra. mes fara d son cap e cō  
 sell. e sera antos. en lo loch vnt sera nat no stara  
 de patria mudara e no sera negligent. aquest em  
 pero baura riquesas passats .xxiiii. anys. E deu  
 pendre donzella bo verge per muller. e si pendra  
 viu de moza la muller ans que ell. e si pēdra ver  
 ge e apzes viu de dela pzimera no stara molt be.  
 dela segona sera mes rich. e la terca muller lo so  
 terrara. En la edat de cinc anys deu bauer vna  
 plaga en lo cap bo en lo bras bo en lo ventre.  
 bo baura mozs d algun ca. e baura senyal algu  
 de foch bo d ferro lo qual lo turbara molt. bau  
 ra set malalties fins a .xxiiii. anys. e sera mes en  
 pzes. e complits a quelts mals apzes .xl. anys se  
 ra rich fins ala senectut. e moza rich en lo loch  
 vnt sera nat. Empero baura mal de vlls. be no  
 falla res en diluns. lo diuendres empero sera bo  
 per ell. e seruesca la gloziosa verge Maria e sera  
 beneuenturat.

#### Dela dona

La infanta bo donzella qui nada sera sotz lo  
 dit signe sera en los seus fets duptosa murmuro  
 sa vergonyosa offesa suspitosa als stranges be  
 hostes. e lo que entendra dir de altri. pensara sia  
 seu. bo dit per ella. e sera repzesa de algu fals bo  
 me. empero exira de aqui alguna veritat. per be  
 ly sera retribuit mal. e volra experimētar mudan



sa. be baura mal en los vlls e en los peus en la edat menor de dotze anys. be si poga scapar lo dit terme viura fins a .lxxx. anys. e seruesca a no stro senyor deu. e viura beneueturadament. batura senyals en la cara bo en la yngla bo. en la nucla del coll. en diuedras ne en dissapte no fa sa res. e seruesca la gloziosa verge Maria e obtiura als perills.

La planeta del signe seguent es Mercurii

La figura de Geminis entra en mig maig e dura fins a mig Juny. E lo infant qui nexera en dit signe sera robust de cors. be de statura sera equal a dit signe bo ala cosa magicament per aquell figurada. e sera volgut de dones. be sera bo en los fets humanals. be sera Jopos. e bon inuentor de subtilitats delas arts mecanicas. sera saui. temperat. vtil en consells. lo que voltra pensara be fer. be per enuega li sera apposat algun gran crim. be delas luas riquesas sera be senyor. be baura baralla be questions ab los acostats seus be domesticbs. e veura venganca de los inimichs. creura volentes. e per semblant sera crefegut. sera ben mozigerat. be sera bonrat mes que los altres homens segons lo seu linatge. be sera impossible que no bage coctura d foc be lesura de ferro. animal de quotra peus lo nafrara. be dins son cors baura dolor en los neruis. be trobara diners amagats. ab sa muller treballara fort. En la edat de .xxx. anys lo seu star sera en vers orient.

En la sua iuuentut baura moltes malalties. E si peruindra a mige edat viura cent anys be tres mesos. E endimarts nos rante lo cap. E robas nouas pot vestir. E seruesca sancta Marganida be beneuēturadament passara totas cosas.

**Dela dona**

La infanta bo donzella la qual naxera sots lo dit signe sera calda de cor. E tantost passara en gracia e tātost sen retoznera. E sera officiosa Santa iocosa. E baura moltes tribulacions. mes de totas scapara. Apres baura bonoz be seruiçi. E sera passient turbada be laboriosa fins a .xxxv. anys. Sera vergonyosa. E sera appellada de mare de infants fins a .xxxvii. anys. E sera turmentada per moltes tribulacions. E no volent bo desigant baura venganca de sos inimicbs. Lo primer fill no sera donat a ella per son marit nos alegrara. Mes ab medicina a ell placent sera deliurada. Dira vna cosa be fara altra. E baura vna cutellada mal demara baura. En edat de .xv. anys baura pabor be dos anys apres ab aygua calda sera scaldada. En la edat de freynte be tres anys deu caure de loch alt. E deu esser mordude per algun ca. E apres deu haure moltes malalties. E en la edat d. xl. anys passara yn gran perill. E si scapara viura .lxxii. anys. E endimarts nos deu rentar lo cap. E seruesca ala sancta trinitat e venca tots los perills

La planeta **M** signe següet e **M** la luna  
La figura del signe appellat **Tranch** entre

amig Juny be dura fins amig iuliol. Lo infant  
 qui sera nat en lo dit signe sera fort Animos E  
 sera molt auomenat parlera deuant tot home  
 E sera gran menassadoz. Lantost se enfellonira  
 e duraz ly ba per gran temps. E tendra be secret  
 lo que sera maister. E sera pobre fins a .xxx. anys  
 Mes lo be pzecebirá. E milloz ly sobreuindra  
 apries crerent ell en anys peruindra en riquesas  
 E los se<sup>r</sup> beneficis seran en gracia per la amor  
 del pare e mare sera bonrat. mes dels stranges se  
 ra vituperat. Totas cosas que apries comecara  
 vindran en be. sera squernidoz bo maldient. ab  
 bestias d' quotra pe<sup>r</sup>ganyara per quol seu ol per  
 sona peruindra a gran dignitat. sera amat d' tres  
 senyors baura riquesa de treball de altri. E per  
 la muller deu esser mes ample e riquesas e baura  
 molt de be. e p' sos fills baura d'apnatge e baura  
 dampnatge de foc. e sera nafrat de ferro. e mor  
 drá per algun ca. e caura de loch alt. e sera torbat  
 en aygua. moltas tribulacions baura en quol se  
 uol loch Tresor amagat trobara. en la edat de  
 trenta e .iii. anys baura gran malaltia. e en maior  
 edat baura donatiu de gran senyor. En la edat  
 de set anys baura malaltia mortal. e si scapara  
 de aquelta viura. lxxx. anys e viii mesos. E endi  
 maris nos rante el cap. e passara be totas las ma  
 laltias. e seruesca amossenyer sanct michael. e be  
 nenenturadament passara tots los perills. Tota  
 roba blanca es aell vtil be lo dimaris mal.

De la dona

La infanta ho donzella la qual neyera sots dit  
 signe sera fort.e animosa e bella e ingeniosa e no  
 boyra home p elle plorant. e sera de coz calda ho  
 superba e iniuriosa. e tendra en son coz la ira tãt  
 com fa lo signe. per necligentia del pare e mare e  
 edat d vuyt anys deu morir e foch ho e aygua  
 e si scapara dit perill. lo primer marit no tendra  
 Mes lauara lo marit a alguna dona. En edat  
 de .lxxiii. anys sera prop dela mort. En edat  
 de .xxx. be tres anys los parents a ella propin  
 ques contre ella tractaran mal. be apies vin  
 dra a gran dignitat e consebra fills de tres ma  
 rits. be baura bonoz strangera. per los seus ma  
 rits sera augmentade. e per sos fills baura flux  
 de sancb en la edat de quorante anys baura pu  
 nt de moriz. e si scapara viura per .xxviii. anys  
 mes. be totes fortunas prosperament venca si  
 seruirá amossenyer sãct michael. e edimecres no  
 falla res. mes comens totes coses en diluns

La planeta del signe seguent es lo sol:

La figure del signe d leo entra amig iuliol. e du  
 ra fins amig Agost. lo infant qui sera nat sots  
 lo dit signe ab millorament tractara totes cos  
 sas sobre la patria baura donatio sera inge  
 nios be animos be quolsseuol cosa que veura  
 e sos iermans enuegera. e no pensera en lo que  
 fara a tard se enfellonira esis enfellonira. algu  
 no poza reuocar dela ira si no sol deu om  
 nipotent. baura dampnatge de sos parents a  
 costats. be sobre pugara los seus inimichs.

La primera muller que baura lerara. Passats  
 xxx. anys. vindra en millois partidas. E veura  
 creixer lo seu be be prospera fortuna. E baura  
 donatiu de grans homens del qual sera fet rich

E sera turbat en algun riu per la qual turba-  
 cio tostemps se dolra de vn peu. Lo que baura  
 non amagara. E viura .xl. anys. E sino serui-  
 ra mosseny sanct Pere morra pobre. E endi  
 marts no comenc alguna cosa.

#### Dela dona

La infanta ho donzella la qual neyera en dit  
 signe sera noble de animo segons son lineage  
 Tantost se enfellonira be tantost per semblant  
 tornara en alegria. Sera vergonyosa ingeniosa  
 offesa animosa. E volra gra be a tota la familia  
 Sera casta. E liberal E disigosa de saber. Dau-  
 ra dampnatge per los seus diners. E veura ven-  
 ganca de sos inimichs. En la edat de .xiii. anys  
 baura dolor al coz e sera molt mestruosa. Aps-  
 ly morra son pare. E los fills seus morra. E lo  
 primer fill morra ans q ella. E sera molt malici-  
 osa e lo seu coratge. E donara amegar e abeure  
 liberalmet e pacifica. E apox pedras pcciosas re-  
 splendets ho luents e las mas. E serueca a mosse-  
 nyer sanct Andreu tots los dies de la sua vida  
 E no falla res endimecres. E passara be tot lo  
 temps dela sua vida sino morra pobreleta

La planeta dl signe seguēt es Mercuri  
 La figura del signe de virg entre amic Agost  
 Edura fins a ang setebre E lo ifant qui neyera  
 sotz lo dit signe plera molt mozalmēt e sera saui

**M**es en moltes actes e fets seus baura dampnat  
 ge. E per causa de sos parents acollats sera na  
 trat. E per locs bo terras stranyas caminara. e  
 per moltes prouincias. E si pendra muller moza  
 ra dit home ans de .xxx. anys. e sino moza a cau  
 sa de la muller las suas riquesas seran augmen  
 tadas. E lo seu secret tindra be parlara en la sua  
 materia pensa. no tractant res de mal. no sera par  
 ler. mes callant axi com la lebra. No fara algun  
 mal sino forcat. Sera fael. mes per la sua factas  
 baura dampnatge. Mes totes cosas portara a  
 bon fi. E baura moltes inculpacions. mes no se  
 ra venent per algun ingeni. Sera benenenturat  
 en totes sements. mes no en bestiar. sino de tres  
 ball. Lo dimecres sera nell viil per comencar to  
 tas cosas. Mes seruesca mossenyer sanct An  
 thoni. E gord se del digo. E viura .lxxvii. anys  
 E passara totes cosas be e moza ab confessio.

**Dela dona**

**L**a infanta bo donzella la qual naixera sots lo  
 dit signe sera calda bo prompte de coz. sera mur  
 murosa. ab marauella veura la mozt de sos ini  
 mics. E no caminara per terras stranyes. E per  
 causa de son marit fara alegre. .xiiii. anys. E p  
 dra lo primer marit e lo primer fill. Mes secun  
 dariament baura vna filla la qual li fara molt  
 de be. Sera fael no adultera. E baura moltes  
 malalties. E algun ca la mollegara. E quontira  
 a peu gord se de passar aygua. e si sera marida  
 de ab altre marit baura vna malaltia. e si scapara  
 e passara. .xxx. anys. .lxx. anys viura. e lo dimecres

b. ii.

pozia comencar totes cosas .e seruesca las glori  
 losas vergens e gozd se del digo<sup>9</sup> .e passara totes  
 os infortunis beneuenturadement

La planeta del signe

seguent es venus

La figura dl signe appellat libra étre amig fetè  
 bre e dura fins amig octubre. lo infant qui naxe  
 ra sotz a quest signe baurabona fama. sera fozt  
 nicadoz moztza abans que sa muller e baura grã  
 doloz en la vn vll .e en las ozellas bo en las ipa  
 llas sera fremet axi com lo leo. e no fiara en lo  
 cb vnt sera nat mes en altres terras. En la pri  
 mera iuentut no sera rich ne pobre mes apzes  
 baura moltes facultats per moltes terras passa  
 ra. e veura venganca de sos inimichs. e baura do  
 loz de ventrell. e managera argent bo tresoz de  
 altri é alguns lochs sera maleyt En amagat loc  
 sera traydoz. per rabo dela bazonia del tenpoz  
 sera fet ric. e moztza vell e rich e vestiduras vezt  
 mellas bo blancas serã a ell mes vils. lo diuen  
 dzes sera bo per ell. e lo dilans mal. e seruesca mō  
 ssenyer sanct matheu e prosperament passar a los  
 infortunis de mont dits.

De la dona

La infanta bo donzella la qual sera nada sotz  
 llo dit signe sera be amigable e sera molt gentil. e  
 amara molt los seruidoos d'casa. lo p<sup>2</sup>imer spos  
 seu no amara. Apzes per altre se alegrara. e tra  
 ctara moltes riquesas. e veura vèganca de sos  
 inimichs. elo p<sup>2</sup>imer ifant q̄ baura sera filla. e ba  
 ura vna cullada. e ē dat d. xxi. anys sera molt

Fortacufada .E apzes moira pobreleta . primerament stara be. apzes finira mal sos dies. ala festa de tots sancts offeresca vna candela per anima sua

**La planeta del signè  
seguent es mars.**

La figura del ligne de scorio entre amig octubre e dura fins amig nouembre. lo insât qui ne xera sotz aquest signe baura bon fat en la vilia e hoyde. e gonyara sauesca dels maiozs se9. e seran li donats animals de quotra pe9. e stara e los lochs domesticbs boynt sô baura patrimoni. e tindra vn loch stranger solament ab gran profit en lo qual baura superior. las cosas que baura bagudas no amagara. e veura creyer las suas riquezas. e baura senyal en los peus bo en la spalla de caual bo de mul. e seran li donades ouellas e seran multiplicadas. mes aygualo turbara. e sera fet rich per alguna dona. e deu esser nafrat de sessio. e sera foxt en los seus coltums e serucis sera alegria En la edad d. xlii. anys vindra e millors lochs bo terras Estara be fis a la vellese. e baura tres malalties. e si scapara viura cent anys lo digo9 sera a ell no vtil a comêçar totas cosas e veltiduras de bruneta d roseta bo vermellas seran a ell mes vtils. e seruesca sancta magdalena e sera beneuetarat en totas cosas

**De la dona**

La isâta bo dôzella la q̄l nexera sotz lo dit signe se e9 gonyira tâto st. e sera paboruga. e si algu li fara mal tostêps lo baura per auortir een odi Empezo no veura venganca de sos inimichs e baura fills de tres marits. En la primera



iuuentut sera multiplicade la offensa. mes apies  
no veura bõ temps mes. En la velleca sera appe  
llade mare de infants. e mozra pobz elleta. lo di  
marts sera bo per ella elo digous lli sera contrari

La planeta del signe

seguent es iupiter

La figura d sagitari entre amig nouembre e du  
ra fins amig dezembre. Lo infant qui nexera  
sotz aquest signe sera pouant ira se baura las  
paraulas blanas sera liberal e de bona volunt  
tat. sera treballos e ffoznicadoz. e sera lli dona  
da alguna cosa de altri. e comportara moltes cri  
mes bo acusacions empezo baura moltes excu  
sacions per causa de bregas se alegrara del mal  
dels uebins seus. e baura en vege del be del altri  
E los seus bens liberalment despndra. e per  
causa de sos parents baura dampnatge. E sera  
bon batalladoz e no confiant en algu. e per sem  
blant algu no confiara en ell. e si algu bi confia  
na ne bauria dampnatge. La primera sposada  
lli sera donada prop del ffoch e molts homens  
demaneran amengar. e baura dampnatge a cau  
sa de ella. e lo primer infant qui sera nat sera ma  
sle sera donat en adopcio a altres en fill. Mes  
tots los seus dies sera pobre segons son linat  
ge. e en la la edat de puericia sera alegre. e en la  
edat de. xii. anys sera malalt. e tant que sera dup  
tos de la vida e si scapara viura. lxxx. anys e ses  
digz E lo digo<sup>9</sup> nos rante lo cap. seruelca sanet  
pposol epassara be totas fortunas.

**Dela dona.**

La infanta bo donzella la qual sera nada sots lo dit signe sera molt plena de ira. E per son perlar sera portada en iuy. baura lengua falsiera. E perdra son marit. be tots los seus dias sera vidua. E lo que fara portara a conclusio. be baurá moltras acusaciós. E en la velleja sua deu morir a mala mort. Lo dimenge nos rante lo cap. e leugerament passara totes cosas.

**La planéta del signe  
seguent es Saturnus.**

La figura del signe appellat Capricorni entre amig de zembre. e dura fins amig Janer. Lo infant qui nexera sots aquest signe sera amigable e iracundo. no creura volentes. sera enuegos. in credul. sera maligne de son cor. E en apres com portara. e callara volentes. Tantost se enfeltorniza. e tantost tornara en gracia. E baura moltras riquesas. mes en malaltirsa de que sera molt occupat. E sera nafrat de ferro. be deu caure de loch alt. E viura sensa muller. be amara mes de degut los seus amichs. mes sera separat de ellas. E passara las mars be sercara moltras terras. E no moza en lo loch vnt sera nat. baura sperança en ell matey. empero moza de cultell. Lo dimenge nos rante lo cap. Seruesca mossenyer sãct Joban babilste. e passara be los se9 reballs.

**Dela dona.**

La infanta bo donzella la qual nexera sots a  
b. iii.

quest signe sera senyoriuol.e.governar sap son  
consell. Qui la volra saber molt ly plaura. E de  
son coz sera calda. E seran ly donats animals  
de quotra peus. ab los vebins baura mal. E no  
sera dita mara d'infants. E stara en lochs no co  
naguts. E viura. l.v. anys. e mozra en lo serui  
de deu. Seruesca mossenyer sant Lozens. e pass  
sara be los seus infozunis.

**La planeta del signe seguent  
es Saturnus.**

La figura del signe appellat Aquari entre a/  
mig Janer. be dura fins amig febrer. Lo infant  
qui nexera en aquest signe sera en odi e maluo/  
lenca als homens. E ab algun home debe passa  
ra alguna peregrinacio. E sera enuegos. e forni  
cadoz. E baura la sua lengua molt desfrenada.  
E sera misericordios. e dira vna cosa be fara al  
tra. e sera perfidios. E per home stranger baura  
riquesas. E en la primera edat sera negligent be  
confiant en la fortuna be sauieta sua. E si baura  
muller tots los dies dela sua vida stara ab ella.  
E mozra en peregrinacio de sancts. Lo dissapte  
sera aell bo. e lo diluns contrari. Seruesca mos  
senyer sanct Jacme. be passara be los seus in  
foztunis.

**Dela dona.**

La infanta bo donzella la qual nexera sotz lo  
dit signe sera misericordiosa. e de son patrimo/  
ni bo propzi baura bonas venturas. E sera pro  
uada contra ella infamia de alguna cosa vera. E

baura senyal en la ma dreta. be baura vna gran  
 moztura de algun animal. E sera tocade de foc.  
 e no viura molt. E nos rante lo cap en dimenge.  
 E totas veliduras grogas seran aella vtils. E  
 seruesca mossenyèr sanct Yachme.

La planeta del signe següent  
 es Jupiter.

La figura del signe appellat Discis entre amig  
 febrer. e dura fins amig Març. Lo infant qui  
 sera nat sotz lo dit signe baura cura tostemps d  
 dones. E sera rich en iuuentut e velleza. E vindr  
 dra en gran bonoz. e sera fet rich per la mozt del  
 pare e mare seus. E sera desfigos de saber. e sera  
 prompte en eloquencia. be ben perlar ab gracia.  
 Sera metiros. e sera ingenios. de poch coratge  
 No sera equal ab lo pare e mare se. E treballs  
 de altri polschira ab iustas forcas e dreis p que  
 lyu serã mesos agoyis. E apres que baura cent  
 anys los inimichs lo mataran. En dissapte nos  
 rante ell cap. lo digous sera aell bo. E seruesca  
 sanct Michael e passara be los seus infortunis.

Dela dona

La infanta bo donzella la qual sera nada sotz  
 lo dit signe p causa dela sua lengua baura damp  
 natge. E de son cors no sera honzada. De pare  
 de pare e mare baura bona bonoz. e ira molt ab  
 furoz. E apres pertuindra ly la heretat del pare e  
 mare. E pendra marit. E apres mige edat moera  
 vella e richa sens gracia als bc mens. Seruesca  
 la gloriola verge Maria e sera prosperada.

**E** las ditas prenoscaciones segons los signes  
e planetas del cel se poden errar en tres maneras  
**L**a primera en la scriptura dels noms dels bo  
mens e dones. car deu atendra lo qui fara la cau  
culacio q saber lo iudici ab quatas letras deua  
esser scrits dits noms.

**L**a segona es en lo nombre que sia pres be se  
gons las letras vertaderas. **L**a terca es que  
dit nombre sia vertaderament summat e partit se  
gons en lo pzincipi es dit.

Segueyan se altres prendichs generals als quals los homens son naturalment subiectas se gons sentencia de philosophs.

Diue los'philosophs'cō Pictagoras e Pto lomeu que quol seu ol signe del zodiach ha tres cares co es: lo cap.lo ventre e la cauda bo cua sots los quals caps bo algu de aquells lo bo me nex. E coney se ē aq̄sta manera quont lo bo me nat baura tantas letras en lo seu nom propzi quontas ne ha la mare sua lauons lo infant bo infanta es nat en lo cap del signe axi com ioban fill: e la mare leona aquests ban eguals letras ē lo nombre d' lurs noms. e tal qui sera nat en lo cap del signe sera leugier e pobre

Lo qui sera nat en la coba del signa baura mes letras en son nom que no baura la mare. axi cō arnaud lo fill. E guine la mare e a quest tal q̄ quont demostre esser nat' en la coba del signe d' la costellacio retrogradant tostemps sera pobre e disfortunat.

Si la mare en lo seu nom babunda mes en le/ tras que lo fill bo filla demonstra ques nat bo nada en lo ventre del signe e a quest tal sera rich en lo mon e beneueurat e prosperant tostemps en bens e en lo pou de oppulencia

Strologia en cara mes demonstra que lo qui se ra nat sots signes directes domiara e senyorega ra los qui seran nats sots los signes prostrats e si seran dos nats sots los signes drets la vi

volra senyoragar laltre. e si seran dos nats sots  
 los signes prostrats bo inclinats la vn volra  
 esser submes al altre. e lo ques diu de homens  
 deu esser entes de dones

Los signes Directes son cancer leo virgo libra  
 scorpius sagitarius. Los signes prostrats bo  
 inclinats son. capricornus aquarius piscis ari  
 es taurus geminis

E per co deuan esser notadas las concordants  
 fortunas e discordants. e las que son causa de  
 riquesas e las que son causa de pobresas assi q̄  
 las bonas sian seguidas e las mallas fugidas.

Emaiorament com algu mal altre bo fat es do/  
 minant sobre algun bome de aquell bome qua/  
 scu deu fugir per quant souint vn per altra ve a  
 perditio bo conportar grā, mal. la qual cosa es  
 causada per la disposicio de natura disposant  
 las cosas mundanals per que algu no pot saber  
 bo demanar mes larga rabo

Axi epezo com la natural disposicio ba donats  
 e dona infortunis segons q̄ demont es dit v/  
 fant de molta sauesia per obutar adits altres e i  
 fortunis e aquells subiugar bo fugir ba volgu  
 da demostrar la manera e medicina per aq̄lis  
 squiar. la qual es partida en ifinidas maneras  
 e generalment en pedras preciosas e erbas. E  
 encara animals e segell bo pedras ab figuras ar  
 bres e plantes e moltas altres cosas delas qu  
 als largament se lig en lo libre de la propretat  
 de las cosas naturals. emes son occasions psal  
 ms e paraules e las quals nostzo senyor ba po

fada virtut. E per co diu lo 'Sibol' meu que lo boe 'savi senyozagara los altres Es encara mes concordancia en iheologia que la anima es superior e locoz inferior lo qual no pot fer alguna cosa sens la anima. e axi las stelas planetas et signes tots son fets alabor de deu omnipotent per amor del hdme. e lo home no es fet per amor d'ells. car lome no vaal astze mes lo astzeva al infant nat axi com diu sanct Gregori e la homelia. mathe. ii. Cum natus esset ihesus et cetera. lo que es entes segons la diuinitat. car lo creador ha creadas totas cosas a ell obeyntes e no es entes segons la humanitat i fluxa bo subiecta als astzes. car scrit es fecit deus duo luminaria magna vt sint in signa et tempora. Sol in potestatem diei lunam et stellas in potestate noctis et cetera. Per q̄ es manifest que lo corz huma es regit per los cossoz sobre celestials per ordinacio de deu influents en los terrenals axi com diu lo psalmista. ordinacione tua perseverat dies quoniam omnia seruiunt tibi. Et iatem et veritatis plasmasi etc. E aquestas cosas son dels secrets de natura concordas ab la sciencia iheologal.

E aquestis pzenostichs son trets dels secrets dels philosophs los quals tu lector sils entendas no deurias obrir ne menys de mostrar p tal que dels homens indoctes per lur falsa e indocte experientia no vingan en dezzisio ne deuri an esser donats si no a carissims e doctes amichs Amen deo gracias





## GLOSSARY

### CATALAN—ENGLISH

This glossary collects words from the critical edition, which respects the orthography of the original text. Diacritics are added to aid the reader. Where variant spellings of a word exist, the one most commonly used is defined. Some unusual spellings and irregular verb forms are listed separately and cross-referenced to their definitions. Set phrases are indexed by the first word. Etymologies are provided for difficult words, reflexes that are unusual in Catalan, and items that help locate the *Tractat de prenostication* historically or geographically.

**açò** pron. n. neut. that.

**agoyt** adj. ominous; foreboding. This word has not been previously documented in Catalan as an adjective. It is most closely related to *guaita* n. f. ‘the act of watching or guarding’; ‘vigilance’; ‘those responsible for the watch’. From Frankish \*WAHTA; Compare Ger. and Dut. *wacht* and Eng. *watch* (Alcover and Moll 6: 431–32; DECat 4: 688). The diphthong /çi/ (e.g. in *guaita!*) represents dissimilation and is still commonly heard in rural speech throughout the Catalan heartland. See also the critical edition, note 54.

**altri** pron. another person. from V. L. ALTERUI < Lat. ALTERĪ dat. case. The Latin dative is responsible for other archaic forms in Cast. and Cat.: e.g. *otri*, *otrie* ‘another person’ (DECat 1: 237).

**amagar** v. to hide; to conceal. Common to Cat. and Occ., but of uncertain etymology. Coromines derives the word from Gascon *amagar* ‘to undertake to accomplish an act in detriment of some individual’, also of unknown origin. He also notes that the form can mean ‘to squat down’ or ‘to duck’ in dialects of southern Spain and Portugal, perhaps providing a semantic link to ‘hide’ or ‘conceal’. Coromines also believes the word and related forms may ultimately be pre-Roman in origin (DECat 1: 247).

**aminuar** v. to decrease; to reduce; fig. to wane.

**ans** adv. before. < C. L. ANTE *idem*. Modern Catalan uses **abans**, a combination of V.L. \*DE+AB+ANTE (DECat 1: 321–25). The final /-s/ may have been added by analogy to numerous other adverbs ending in this consonant: *després*, *segons*, *dins*, etc.

**antós** adj. stubborn; headstrong. Possibly a *hapax legomenon*. None of the major Catalan dictionaries documents this word. The item exists in Prov. as an adj. meaning ‘shameful’; ‘dishonorable’ < V. L. ANCTOS *idem* (Honorat 1: 116). The Catalan form could represent a reinterpretation of the Prov. term with influence from Cat. *entost* and *entost de* ‘instead of’; ‘as opposed to’ (DECat 3: 393). The verb *antostar* ‘to oppose’ < Lat. ANTE + OBSTARE may provide some additional influence (DECat 5: 403).

**any** n. m. year. The variant form **ayn**, frequent in the text, is common in O. Cat. Coromines argues that the alternate form is simply an orthographic variation and does not represent a different pronunciation (DECat 5: 676).

**après** adv. after. < L. adv. AB+PRËSSE ‘compactly’; ‘narrowly’. This adverb is common to eastern Romance varieties either in the locative or temporal sense of ‘after’; ‘behind’. In Cat., this form is found until the fifteenth century, but becomes increasingly archaic afterwards. (DECat 3: 96–7). The form **després** has taken its place (< L. DE+EX+PRËSSE).

**ayn** n. m. see **any**.

**baralla** n. f. struggle; battle; quarrel. Uncertain origin, but common to Romance languages, usually meaning ‘quarrel’, but also ‘to put into disorder’. Compare Cast. *baraja* ‘deck of cards’ from *barajar* ‘to shuffle cards’; It. *sbaragliare* ‘to confound’; e.g. to confound the enemy. Consult Coromines for a discussion (DECat 1: 625–26).

**be** n. m. sheep.

**bé** adv. well; fit. Also n. m. a thing of value or worth.

**bestiar** n. m. livestock.

**brega** n. f. break; fight; dispute. < Got. BRIKAN ‘break’. Compare: Ger. *brechen*, Dut. *breken*, Eng. *to break*. First documented in the fourteenth century (DECat 2: 211–12).

**brunet -a** adj. brown. variant of *bru* < Frankish *brun*, *idem*. Compare Eng. *brown*. The word can also refer to a type of woven cloth (DECat 2: 283).

**cald -a** adj. hot. Archaic form < V. L. CALDUS < C. L. CALĪDUS *idem*. The fem. **calda** survives as a noun, usually meaning unbearable heat. The *Tractat* refers to women who are “calda de cor”, which in context can mean ‘hot-blooded’; ‘quick-tempered’; or fig. ‘emotional’.

**can** n. m. dog.

**cap** n. m. head.

**cauda** Lat. n. m. tail. variant of Lat. CŌDA *idem*. In the *Tractat*, this learned form refers to the tail of an astrological sign and is followed immediately by the Catalan gloss *coha*, which suggests the author or editor was closely following another astrological source text: “. . . quolseuol signe del zodiach ha tres cares—ço és lo cap, lo ventre e la cauda ho cua. . .” (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>).

**coctura** n. f. the act of burning; a burn. literally, cooking. < V. L. CŌCĒRE < C. L. CŌQUĒRE *idem*.

**coha** n. f. tail. See also *cauda*.

**conagut -da** p. part. of **conèixer**. also as n. m. ‘acquaintance’.

**conèixer** v. ‘to know’ in the sense of ‘to experience’; ‘to be familiar’.

**cors** n. m. body. < Lat. CŌRPUS. Jaume Roig rhymes *cors* with *fòs*, proof that the /r/ was merely an orthographic convention out of respect for the Lat. model. In MSS of St. Vincent Ferrer’s sermons, one finds the popular **coſsos** along side the official **còssors**, also indicating that the form without /r/ was the likely pronunciation in medieval Catalan (DECat 2: 981).

**còssors** see **cors**.

**cresegut -da** p. part. of **creure**. In the *Tractat*, the form appears as an adj. meaning ‘naïve’ or ‘gullible’.

**creurà volentés**. This phrase appears twice in the text meaning: “he will be gullible”; literally, “He will believe voluntarily or easily.”

**creure** v. to believe.

**crèxer** v. to grow; to grow up.

**cua** n. f. tail. see also **cauda**.

**cultellada** n. f. a cut or stab with a knife.

**dampnatge** n. m. damnation; damage; suffering. < V. L. DAMNATICUM *idem*. Compare Occ. *damnatge*; Eng. *damage*; O. Fr. *damage*; Mod. Fr. *domage* (DECat 3: 22). The /p/ is a transitional consonant.

**deffrenat** variant of *desfrenat* adj. ‘unleashed’; ‘loose’; ‘without restraint’ < Lat. FRĒNUM ‘bridle of a horse’. Coromines cites examples from the fifteenth century. Often used to refer unrestrained speech: *llengua desfrenada*; *boca desfrenada* as in the *Tractat* (DECat 4: 179). In rapid or careless speech, the etymological /s/ assimilates to the following consonant /f/, as we find in this spelling.

**delit** n. m. from Lat. DELICTUM part. of Lat. DELĪNQUĒRE ‘to lack’; ‘to be missing’; ‘to commit a fault’. Originally ‘petty crime or offense’; but the sense changes over time. According to Coromines, starting from the Lat. acc. *deliquium*, which could also mean ‘fainting’, the word takes on the sense of ‘semi-conscious state’; perhaps ‘swoon’. Eventually under analogical pressure from *delicia*, the word can mean ‘supreme pleasure’. In the *Tractat*, the word is used most likely in the context of pleasure (DECat 58–9). DELĪRUS, which Cicero uses to describe one who engages in extravagant behavior, may also play an analogical role.

**demont** adv. above.

**desitjós -a** adj. desirous; often pertaining to carnal desire. < Old Cat. *desig* ‘sexual desire’ < V. L. DESĪDĪUM n. n. *idem*. The V. L. neutral form is modeled on the C. L. feminine form meaning ‘sloth’; ‘idleness’; ‘laziness’. The Catalan verb *desitjar* is formed on the V. L. noun, with some pressure from the verb DESĪDĒRARE, which had a similar meaning. Coromines suggests that the semantic evolution from ‘to be idle’ to ‘to desire carnally’ follows the popular moral aphorism: “l’ociositat és mare de tots els vicis”: lit. “idleness is the mother of all vice”, but akin to Eng. “idle hands are the devil’s workshop” (DECat 3: 85–6). By the time the *Tractat* was printed, the adjective was commonly used in the modern sense ‘desirous’; ‘yearning’: “Serà casta e liberal e disigosa de saber” (fol. 6<sup>v</sup>).

**despendre** v. to spend.

**deuall** adv. below.

**deure** v. to owe; to have to do something either by physical necessity or moral obligation; to be likely or probable. Often equivalent to Engl. *should*.

**digous** n. m. Thursday.

**dilluns** n. m. Monday.

**dimarts** n. m. Tuesday.

**dimecres** n. m. Wednesday.

**disigosa** see **desitjós**.

**dissabte** n. m. Saturday.

**diumenge** n. m. Sunday.

**divendres** n. m. Friday.

**dona** n. f. woman.

**duptós -a** (Modern spelling **dubtós**) adj. doubtful, ambiguous, or questionable; suspect of a negative moral or social quality; to be in the state of doubt. We find all of these senses in the Tractat: “. . . serà duptós de la vida” ‘in a state of doubt’; here spec. ‘fearful’ (fol. 8<sup>v</sup>); “La infanta ho donzella qui nada serà sotz lo dit signe serà en los seus fets duptosa, murmurosa, vergonyosa, offesa, suspitosa als strangers . . .” ‘of suspect moral character’ (fol. 4<sup>r</sup>); “dubtós eueniment” ‘questionable’; here ‘ominous’ (fol. 2<sup>r</sup>).

**elauons** adv. then. < O. Cat. *lahors* and *laors* < Lat. *ĪLLĪS HŌRĪS* ‘in those hours’. The modern reflex, **llavors**, with antihhiatic /β/ appears about mid. thirteenth cent. In conversation, both in O. Cat. and Mod. Cat., the word can take on a prothetic /e/ and suffer numerous other phonetic modifications: **ellavors**, **ellavons**, **llavorens**, etc. (DECat 5: 112–16).

**emperò** adv. conj. however.

**endós** pron. ‘both’; ‘both of them’ < Lat. *AMBO DUOS*, lit. ‘both’ and ‘two’. The new compound survives in Catalan most commonly as **amdós**. It appears from mid to late fourteenth century, particularly in Eiximenis (viz. *Dotzè del crestià*). Although commonly used, the fifteenth century *Regles d’esquivar vocables* favors **los dos** over

**amendosos**, another variant (Badia i Margarit 1950–53, Part 3: 147–48). Mod. Cat. favors the neologism **tots dos** ‘all two’ to **endós**, now archaic (DECat 1: 273–4).

**enfellonir** v. int. ‘to become angry’, ‘to get mad’.

**ensemps** adv. ‘together’; ‘jointly’. < L. ĪNSĪMŪL < C.L. SĪMŪL. (DECat 3: 372–374). Common to Eastern Romance varieties e.g.: Fr. *ensemble* and It. *insieme*.

**enueger** v. variant spelling of **envejar** ‘to envy’.

**eveniment** n. happening or occurrence. Mod. Cat. prefers **esdeveniment** < v. **esdevenir** ‘to happen’; ‘to occur’; ‘to become’ < V. L. \*EX+DE+VENIRE (DECat 9: 116; Alcover and Moll 5: 327–28).

**exir** v. int. to leave. < Lat. ĔXIRE *idem*. Common to all dialects of Catalan until recently. In Mod. Cat., eastern and central dialects use **sortir** < L. SŌRTĪRĪ *idem*.

**fael** adj. ‘faithful’; **faeltat** n. f. ‘faithfulness’; ‘loyalty’ < C. L. FĪDĒLIS *idem*. Typically found in rural dialects, specifically in eastern and central Catalonia. Etymological **feel** was later replaced by the learned form, **fidel** (DECat 3: 918–19). This is one of a series of lexical forms that helps postulate an eastern Catalan origin for the *Tractat de prenostication*.

**falsier -a** adj. false; duplicitous; lying; hypocritical < O. Cat. *falsari idem* < *falsia* ‘falsehood’; ‘untruth’. Eiximenis uses *falsari* frequently in the sense of ‘hypocritical’, and we find the variant *falzier* in his works as well (Alcover and Moll 5: 716) Standard form is **fals**.

**fassa** 3rd person. sing. pres. subj. of **fer** ‘to do’; ‘to make’.

**fat** n. m. lit. fate. In the *Tractat*, the form may also refer to a star or other omen: “E maiorament com algú mal astre ho fat és dominant sobre algún home . . .” (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>).

**fembra** n. f. woman.

**fer** v. to do or to make.

**finir** v. to end; fig. to die. Mod. Cat. prefers *acabar* for the sense ‘to end’ as in Cast. **Finir** is still found occasionally in literary texts.

**flux** n. m. excessive flow or secretion, e.g. of blood or other bodily fluids < FLŪXUS, -ŪS ‘act of flowing’ (DECat 4: 56).

**foch** n. m. fire. Mod. Cat. orthography requires a single consonant “c” for final /-k/.

**fremet** adj. ‘roaring’; ‘growling’ < C. L. FRĚMĚRE v. ‘to growl’. This unusual item helps to date the *Tractat*. The first citation is from about 1480–1490 (DECat 4: 192–4). In literary Cat., Occ., and Prov., the verb takes on the figurative sense of a ‘tremendous thundering sound’, for example as in an earthquake.

**gonyar** (and related forms) see **guanyar**.

**gordar** (**gorde-se**, etc.) v. ‘to guard’, ‘to keep’; ‘to watch’; ‘to keep watch’; ‘to be wary of’; ‘to wait’; ‘to pay attention to’, ‘to look at’. Rural reflex of standard *guardar* < Germ. WARDŌN *idem* < WARDA ‘act of watching’, etc. < WARŌN ‘to attend to’; ‘to pay attention to’. The sense of ‘to look at’ is common in the Romance family: O. Fr. *garder*, now *regarder*, Cat. *guardar* and related forms; Occ. *gardar*; It. *guardare*. In Catalan, this meaning is gradually attached to the form *esguardar*, which disappears in favor of *mirar*. *Guardar* still exists in the sense of ‘to guard’; ‘to keep’, ‘be careful of’ although the reduced *gordar* is commonly heard in rural speech (DECat 4: 698–99). The labialization of /a/ is similar to the process at work throughout the text for initial /kw/: V. L. \*QUALE+SI+VOLET > *qualsevol* > *quolsevol*. These processes were already considered rural or archaizing in the fifteenth century. See also the related term *agoyt*.

**groc -ga** adj. yellow < Lat. CRŌCUS ‘safron’.

**guanyar** v. ‘to earn’; ‘to gain’; ‘to win’ < Germ. \*W AidANJAN ‘work the earth’. This word eventually comes to mean ‘to earn’ or ‘to win’. In O. Cat. the word occasionally maintains the original sense of ‘to exploit the earth’. It is sometimes used to mean ‘to earn one’s living as a shepherd’ or ‘to lease animals’ (DECat 4: 694–96).

**hage** 3rd. sing. pres. subj. of **haver** ‘to have’.

**haure** variant inf. form of **haver** ‘to have’.

**haver** v. to have.

**home** n. m. man.

**hoste** n. m. guest or host.

**höyde** n. f. the faculty or act of hearing; the inner ear.

**hoyrà** variant of 3 pers. sing. fut. of **haver** ‘have’.

**influir** v. to influence.

**influxa** see **influir**.

**ipallas** n. f. pl. shoulders. Mod. Cat. form is **espatlles**.

**iracundo** adj. ‘irate’; ‘irascible’ < L. IRACŪNDŪS. Learned form imported from It. humanistic prose c. late fourteenth cent. (DECat 4: 862–3; Bohigas 1965: 81).

**iuÿ** n. justice; judgement. Semi-learned form < L. JŪDĪCĪUM *idem*. (DECat 4: 934). Catalan scholars of the *Renaixença* reintroduced the form **justícia** in the nineteenth century, modeled on the original L. form.

**joyós -a** ‘joyous’ semi-learned form < Lat. GAUDIA *idem*. Mod. Cat. prefers derived **goig** < Lat. GAUDIUM *idem*.

**luar** v. variant of *llevar* ‘to take away’; ‘to remove’. Used in the *Tractat* to mean ‘to steal’. The word enters Catalan from C. L. LĒVĀRE ‘to lift’; ‘to remove’; ‘to lighten’. However the word is also used figuratively for ‘to collect taxes’ and ‘to seize or to remove by force’, whence ‘to steal’ (DECat 5: 182).

**legir** v. to read. Mod. Cat. **llegir**.

**lesura** n. f. wound; lesion. Compare **morsura**, with a similar n. suffix.

**leugier -a** adj. Provençal. light (in terms of weight); weak; also fig. easy or easygoing < V. L. \*LEVARIUS *idem*. The Cat. form is **lleuger** (DECat 5: 181; Honnorat 2: 524). This word, with the characteristic falling diphthong /je/, constitutes one of the few signs of possible Provençal influence in the text.

**lexar** v. to permit; to allow.

**libre** n. m. book.

**lig** 3 pers. sing. pres. indic. of **llegir** ‘to read’.

**llavors** adv. then. See also variant form **elauons**.



**llegir** v. to read. The verb has two reflexes in Catalan. One is conjugated with an inchoative infix **-eix-** /ɛ]/: **llegeixo, llegeixes**, etc. The other is conjugated without the infix: **lig, lliges**. The shorter forms are etymological. In modern times, the inchoative form has replaced them as the standard, while the shorter forms are dialectal (DECat 5: 129).

**llur** pron. their.

**loch** n. m. place. Mod. Cat. orthography requires the single consonant “c” for final /-k/.

**luent** adj. bright; shining.

**ly** clitic pron. 3 pers. sing. to him; to her.

**malaltia** n. f. illness.

**maleït -da** adj. damned; condemned.

**maluestat** n. m. evil deeds; quality or state of being evil < O. Occ. *malvatz* (DECat 5: 403).

**manager** v. Probably a version of *manejar* to wave the hands; to use or operate; to control, to direct, or to oversee an affair; to treat, to deal with < Lat. MANU ‘hand’. Phonological leveling of atonic /e/ and /a/ is typical of eastern Catalan. The form could also represent a version of *manegar* lit. ‘to place a handle on’; but fig. ‘to handle or deal with’, e.g. a difficult affair < C. L. MANÏCU ‘handle’ (Alcover and Moll 7: 193–95).

**mara** n. f. uterus < C. L. MATRIU *idem* (DECat 5: 476).

**matex** adj. same.

**menassador -a** adj. and n. menacing or threatening; one who menaces or threatens. Mod. Cat. **amenaçador** < v. **amençar** *idem*.

**molt** adv. ‘very’ and **molt -a** pron. much; many.

**morà, morrà** 3rd pers. sing. fut. indic. of **morir** ‘to die’.

**morigerat -da** adj. moderate in customs or lifestyle.

**morir** v. to die.

**morsura** n. f. a bite. The unusual noun suffix **-ura** may appear by analogy to words such as **lesura** ‘lesion’, although Coromines calls

it a Gallicism. It could just as easily be a hypercorrection, following Latin models. In O. Cat., the typical form would be **mordedura** or **morduda**, the latter from the p. part of the now archaic **mordre** < Lat. MÖRDĒRE *idem*. By the time the *Tractat* was printed, these forms were already losing ground to **mossegada** and **mossegar** (DECat 5: 786–87). These last forms are a back formation on the Latin part. MORSUS. We may consider **morsura** among the rural or archaizing items found in the *Tractat*.

**mudança** n. f. a change of state.

**muller** n. f. woman; wife. Exists in Mod. Cat. only in the sense of ‘marital partner’.

**nafrar** v. to injure < V. L. NAUFRAGARE ‘to be shipwrecked’ (DECat 5: 866). This sense is unique among the Romance languages to Catalan.

**nexer** v. to be born. Mod. Cat. **nèixer**.

**nombre** n. m. number

**nunque** adv. never. V. L. variant of C. L. NUMQUAM *idem*. In the fifteenth century, this Latinizing form was more common than *mai* < V. L. MAGIS, which would eventually replace it (DECat 5: 618–19).

**obeïnt** ger. obedient < **obeir** v. ‘to obey’.

**obviar** v. to avoid.

**odi** n. m. hatred.

**offensa** n. f. offence; affront. See also **offès**.

**offès** part. offended < **ofendre** v. *idem*. However the form only occurs in the *Tractat* in the feminine, **ofensa**, and with a different sense. Either the part. has acquired the meaning of the adj. **ofensiu** / **-iva** ‘offensive’ or it has the sense ‘gravely ill’, which Alcover and Moll record in Mallorcan Catalan (7: 868). The latter sense does not fit the context in the *Tractat*: e.g. “Serà vergonyosa, ingeniosa, offensa, animosa” (fol. 6<sup>v</sup>).

**ont** adv. where.

**optenir** v. to obtain. Mod. Cat. orthography **obtenir**. The devoicing of /b/ in this context is consistent with a preference in Cat. for

strong articulatory tension of consonants and weak articulation of vowels.

**pahoruc -ga** adj. fearful < O. Cat. *pahor* n. f. ‘fear’ (mod. Cat **por**) < Lat. PAVŌRE.

**parlar** v. to speak.

**partir** v. to divide (math.); to partition.

**pendre** v. to take; to seize; fig. to marry e.g. ‘to take a wife’.

**peregrí** n. m. pilgrim.

**pertex** 3 pers. sing. pres. indic. of **partir** ‘to divide’.

**poder** v. to be able; to have permission.

**porà** 3 pers. sing. fut. of **poder** ‘to be able’.

**portarà en effecte** to complete; to carry out.

**prepuci** n. m. foreskin.

**prompte** adj. manifest; visible. < C. L. PRŌMPTUS *idem*. This item helps date the *Tractat*; the first reliable documentation is late fifteenth cent. (*viz.* Eiximenis. *Llibre de les dones*, cap. 53) (cit. in DECat 6: 824).

**prop de** adv. near.

**puerícia** n. f. youth < Lat. PUER ‘child’. Learned word.

**quascun** pron. each; every < V. L. CATA (originally a Gk. preposition meaning ‘during’; ‘according’; ‘following’) + UNUM ‘one’. Mod. Cat. orthography is **cadaú** or **cadascú** (DECat 2: 376–77). The initial /kw/ is a hypercorrect form based on many Latin models: e.g. QUALE, QUANDO, QUO, etc.

**qualsevol** pron. and a. whichever; any < V. L. \*QUALE+SI+VOLET. The velarization of etymological **qualsevol** /kwa-/ is typical in rural dialects and found throughout the *Tractat*: e.g. *quont* for *quant*. Also appears as **quansevol**, with dissimilation of /l/ (DECat 6: 889).

**rentar** v. to clean; to wash < Late Lat. RECENTARE ‘refresh’; ‘rinse’ < C. Lat. RECENS –ĒNTIS ‘fresh’. Coromines suggests this item replaced *llavar* ‘to wash’ because neutralization of unstressed vowels caused a merger with *llevar* ‘to take away’; ‘to remove’ (DECat 7: 250).

**res** pron. nothing < C. Lat. RĒS ‘thing’.

**saber** v. to know; to understand.

**sanch** n. m. blood. variant of **sang**.

**sapias** 3 pers. sing. pres. subj. of **saber** ‘to know’.

**scaldar** v. to scald.

**sement** n. f. seed; fig. harvest.

**senyoragar** v. to dominate; to control; to rule. Based on *senyor* ‘lord’; ‘gentleman’; eventually ‘man’; and polite form of address for a man.

**sotz** adv. underneath; below. Mod. Cat. **sota**.

**squernidor -a** adj. deceitful, variant of *escarnidor* < *escarnir* ‘to play a prank, usually with intention to harm’ < Got. \*SKAIRNJAN *idem*. Compare Engl. *scorn*. The *e* stem may be due to neutralization of /a/ and /e/ in Eastern Cat. However Alcover and Moll state that the form is typical in Tarragona (5: 231). Coromines disagrees, noting that *esquernir* is characteristically Occitan (DECat 3: 494).

**stròlech** n. m. astrologer. Variant spelling of **astròlechs**. Mod. Cat. orthography requires a single “c” for final /-k/.

**tostemps** adv. always. Reduction of *tots temps* lit. ‘all time’ with metathesis. Characteristic of O. Cat; still used in Prov. and Occ. (DECat 8: 659–70). Mod. Cat. uses **sempre** or **tot el temps**.

**treball** v. to work; to labor; to suffer < V. L. TRIPALIARE ‘to torture’ < V. L. TRIPALIUM, a three-poled instrument of torture. The word maintains the meaning ‘to suffer’ throughout the Middle Ages, gradually acquiring the sense ‘to endure’; ‘to struggle’; ‘to expend energy’. Beginning in the fourteenth cent., it slowly takes on the modern meaning ‘to work’. Compare English ‘travail’, borrowed from O. Fr., which preserves only the original Latin meaning (DECat 8: 734–37).

**trobar** v. to find < V. L. \*TRŌPĀRE / Lat. Lat. CONTRŌPĀRE ‘to speak figuratively’; ‘to compare’ < Lat. TRŌPUS ‘rhetorical figure’. From this latter meaning, the word seems to acquire the sense of ‘to invent’ and then ‘to find’. Common to eastern varieties of Romance (DECat 8: 852). Compare Fr. *trouver*, It. *trovare*, etc.

**ull** n. m. eye.

**vegas** 2 pers. sing. pres. subj. of **veure** ‘to see’.

**vehí -na** n. neighbor. Mod. Cat. **veí**. The letter “h” often indicates that the two vowels should be in hiatus /eí/, versus a diphthong /eĩ/.

**vença** 3 pers. sing. pres. subj. of **vèncer** ‘to conquer’.

**vèncer** v. to conquer.

**ventre** n. m. belly; abdomen.

**vergonyós -a** adj. ashamed; embarrassed.

**vermell -a** adj. red.

**vestidura** n. f. garment.

**veure** v. to see.

**viandes** n. f. pl. food. Later, collective **vianda** f. < O. Fr. *viande* ‘food’ and later ‘meat’ < Lat. VIVANDA ‘that which one needs to live’, whence ‘food’. In Cast., this reflex produces *vivienda* ‘home’, i.e. ‘the place where one lives’. For the sense of ‘foodstuff’, Cast. uses a variant of the infinitive: *viveres*.

**vídua** n. f. widow < Lat. VĪDŪA *idem*. Although now archaic, this is the etymological reflex. Compare mod. **viuda**, present from the thirteenth century, which eventually replaces it. This item also suffers other etymological changes: e.g. **viudra**, with an epenthetic consonant, perhaps by analogy to words such as *nombre*, etc. (DECat 9: 329–33).

**vituperar** v. to reprove; to censure.

**viudra** see **vídua**.

**voler** v. to want.

**volarà** 3 pers. sing. fut. indic. of **voler** ‘to want’.

**vulles** 2 pers. sing. pres. subj. of **voler** ‘to want’.

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## INDEX

- Aben Jaren, Ali (*See* Alfagra)  
 Abenatzer, 29  
 Abenragel, Ali (Alī ibn abī Riḡāl), xi, xiv, xix, 21  
 Abū Ma'shar (a.k.a. Albumazar) xi, xviii, 35, 65  
 Abulafia, Abraham, 58, 58n  
 Albert the Great, xi, 39  
 Al-Birūnī, 37, 42, 68, 68n, 134n  
 Albumazar (*See* Abū Ma'shar)  
 Alchandrus (a.k.a. Akardianus and Alchandiandus), 53, 53n  
 Al-Corsi, Jacob, xv  
 Alexander the Great, xxii–xxiv, 58  
 Alfagra, xvi  
 Al-Faragani (Abū l'Abbas Fargani), xi, xxvi  
 Alfons I “The Magnanimous”, King of Aragon, 22–23  
 Alfons V, King of Aragon, 73  
 Alfonso X “The Wise”, King of Castile, xv, 20, 25  
*Almagest*, xxv, 34, 136n  
 almanacs (*See also* *Reportorio de los tiempos*), 23, 38, 39n, 40, 85, 88, 88n  
 amulets, magical (*See* talismans)  
 Andorra, 24, 37  
*anima mundi*, 47, 71  
*Arbre de sciència*, xiv, 45n  
 ascendant, 33  
 astrology: (*See also* zodiac) Arabic varieties of, xi, xiv, xxv–xxvi, 20–21, 26, 34–36, 38; Arnau de Vilanova and, xii–xiv; astronomy in relationship to, xi, 10–11, 32; Catalan-Aragonese Kings and, xv–xvi; classification of, 11, 11n, 32; definition of, 32–33, 35; Eiximenis, Francesc and, xvii–xxvi; genethliacal, 32–33, 36–37; geomancy and, 43; Greek varieties of, xi, xxv, 11, 14–15, 26, 35, 39–40; Hindu sources for, 38, 63, 65; Isidore of Seville, St. and, 10–11, 10n, 11n; Jewish varieties of, xv–xvi, xxiv, 26, 55, 57; judicial, xi, xxv, 32–40 (*passim*), 61, 102n; lunar, 38–39; magic and, 40–43, 67, 122n; medicine and, xiii–xiv, 15, 40–42, 122n; Middle Ages,—in the, 5–6; Renaissance,—in the, xi, 72  
 astro-numerology, 25, 47–56, 62, 65, 90  
 Augustine of Hippo, St., xi, xxv, 3–4, 18, 71n, 134n  
 Avicena (Abū Ali al-Husain ibn Abdallah ibn Sina), xxv  
  
 Bacon, Roger, xi  
 Balearic Islands, xii, xxvi, 20  
 Barcelona: astrology and, xxi; early print culture in, 22, 24, 81, 87–89, 88n; teaching of astrology in, 14, translation of astrological works and, 7  
 Bartholomaeus Anglicus (a.k.a. Bartholomew the Englishman), 69, 87  
 Bellshom Efraim, xv, xxvi  
 Benedict XI, Pope, xii  
 Benedict XIII, Pope, xvii  
 Bernard, St., xviii  
*Bibliografia de texos catalans antics* (BITECA), 28–29; 28n, 29n, 59, 78  
 Bonastruç Ça Porta (*See* Nahmanides)  
 Boniface VIII, Pope, xii, xvii, 10  
 Bonjorn, Jacobo ben David, 27  
 Botel, Enrique, 87, 88n  
 Braga, Martin de, 6  
 Brun, Pedro (a.k.a. Bru), 81, 83, 88  
 Bruno, Giordano, 10  
  
 Cabbala, 56, 58  
 Campanella, Tomasso, 4, 10, 18, 18n, 23, 72  
 Castile, xvii, 58, 81  
 Catalonia: (*See also* Barcelona) astrology in, xi; Cabbalistic scholarship in, 57–58; classical sources for prognostic literature in, 25–26, 65; *decadència* in, 21; early print culture and, 22, 24, 84–85, 89–90; humanism, influences present in, 22–23; medieval period, chronology of, 3n; scientific and prognostic

- scholarship in medieval, 19–25, 26–29
- Catholic Church: astrology and, 6–7, 13–14; numerology and, 47–48
- Cecco d'Ascoli, 9, 70n
- Centiloquium*, 34, 132n, 136n
- Certejne Revexes of Phisnomy*, 55
- Çes Planes, Dalmau, xv–xvi, xxvi, 20, 29
- Charles V, King of France, xii, xv
- Cigó, Jaume, Bishop of Barcelona, xvi
- Code of Jewish Law, 57
- Cogonina*, xv
- colophon, 77–78, 89
- Compromise of Casp, 21
- computus* tradition, 7, 23
- conjunctions, of planets, xiv
- Cresques, Abraham, 20
- Cresques, Hasdai, xxvi
- Cronica judaica*, xxii
- Curial e Güelfa*, 22
- Dante, 73
- “Dark Ages” (*See also* Middle Ages), 5
- De astronomia*, 89
- De civitate Dei*, 4
- De conservanda*, xii
- De fide instrumentorum*, 85
- De imaginibus astrologicis*, 23, 69
- De iudiciis astronomiae*, xiii
- De magia* (of Campanella), 4n, 18, 18n
- De magnis conjunctionibus*, xviii
- De prognosticationibus egentudinum secundum motum lunae*, 25
- De proprietatibus rerum* (of Bartholomaeus Anglicus), 69, 87, 89, 134, 135, 136, 136n
- De sigillis*, xiii
- De sponsalibus et matrimoniis*, 85n
- De vita libri tres* (a.k.a. *De triplice vita*), 15, 16, 16n, 23, 68, 69, 69n
- Della Porta, Giambattista (a.k.a. John Baptist Porta), 18
- Disputatio contra iudicium astrologorum*, 15
- Donatus, St., 51–52, 51n
- Dorotheus of Sidon, 36
- Dotzè del Crestià* (*Primer del Crestià, Segon del Crestià*, etc.), xvii–xxiii (*passim*)
- Dulcert, Angelino, 20
- Eiximenis, Francesc, xvii–xxv, 60
- electiones and interrogationes*, 34–37, 39–40, 65
- Elements of Astrology*, 68
- Espona i Brunet, Santiago, 60, 78
- Ethica ad Nicomachum*, 87, 88n
- Etymologiae*, 4, 4n, 6
- Experimentarius*, 44, 50, 53–54, 56
- Ezra, Abraham (ibn) (*See also Libro conplido de los judizios de las estrellas*), 25, 29
- Ferran III “The Catholic”, King of Aragon, 21
- Ficino, Marsilio, 15, 16, 16n, 23, 34, 68
- Firmicus Maternus, Julius, 11
- Flint, Valerie Irene Jane, 5–8, 10n
- Flores astrologiae*, xi
- Flors de medicines*, 28
- Fórmules per trobar l'ascendent a l'hora del naixement*, 29
- France, xv, xvii, 22
- Frederick of Sicily, xii
- Galen, 40
- Garin, Eugene, 5, 27
- Gematria, 56–58
- geomancy, 43–46; 43n, 45n
- Germany, 80, 81, 86n, 87
- Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW), 79, 82–83
- Ghāyat al-Hakīm (*See Picatrix*)
- Gilbert, Pere, xv–xvi, xxvi, 20, 29
- Gnosticism, 48, 48n
- Gorris, Guillelmus, 83
- Granollachs, Bernat, 24, 27, 28
- Gregory the Great, St., 69–70, 70n, 136n
- Griseldis*, 22
- Haebler, Konrad, 61, 79–81, 80n
- Handbuch der Inkunabelkunde*, 81n
- Hermes, 50–52
- Hippocrates, 40
- History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 26–27
- Hongre, Pierre, 87
- Hurus, Pablo, 88n
- Inquisition, 9, 10
- Introductorium in Astronomiam*, xi
- Introductorium Maius*, 35

- Isabelle I "The Catholic", Queen of Castile, 21
- Isidore of Seville, St., 4, 8, 8n, 10–11, 10n, 18, 47n
- Jaume I, King of Aragon, xxiii
- Jaume III, King of Majorca, xii
- Jesus Christ, xix, xxiv, 9, 48, 70
- Joan I, King of Aragon, xv–xvii (*passim*), 21,
- Joan II, King of Aragon, 22
- John of Seville, 35, 54
- John the Baptist, St., 64
- John XXII, Pope, xii
- Judicari* (of Halirafal), xxi
- Julius Caesar, xxi
- Leges visigothorum*, 6
- Letter from Nechepso to Petrosirus*, 51, 51n
- Li, Andrés de, 24, 38
- Libellus de improbatione maleficiorum*, 10
- Libellus somniorum (interpretatione)*, 82–83
- Libre de meravelles*, xiv
- Libro complido de los iudizios de las estrellas*, 21, 25
- Libros de suerte (llibres de sort), 46, 50
- Libre de les dones*, xx, xxii
- Libre dels judicis de les estrelles (See also Libro complido de los iudizios de las estrellas)*, 29
- Lull, Ramón, xiv–xv, xviii, xxvii, 20–21, 45n
- lot of fortune, 21n
- lots, as points in the zodiac, 35–36
- lots, casting of (*See also: sortes sanctorum*), 8–9, 44, 49–50
- lunar mansions, 39, 49
- lunari (llunari, lunario)*, 23–24, 38, 88, 88n
- Lunari* (of Bernat Granollachs), 27–28
- Magiae naturalis libri viginti*, 18
- magic: (*See also* talisman) astrological, 40, 42–43, 67; black, 18, 18n; Catholic Church and, 7–10; ceremonial, 17–18; definitions of, 3; Eiximenis, Francesc, and, xxiv–xxvi; Isidore of Seville, St. and, 8; Islam and, xv; medicine and, 16, 40; medieval school curricula,—in, 13–14; Middle Ages,—in the, 6–10, 16; natural, 17, 69; Renaissance,—in the, 10, 13, 14–19, 23, 72; sympathetic, 15, 40; Thomas Aquinas, St. and, 9, 9n
- Majorca (*See* Balaeric Islands)
- Manilius, 67n
- Martí I "The Human", King of Aragon, xvi, 21
- mathesis*, 11, 11n, 13
- Mayer, Heinrich (a.k.a Enrique Mayer or Meyer, etc.) 79, 79n, 82–83, 85–87, 85nn, 136n
- Mayol, Gabriel, xv
- Means, Laurel, 27, 32–40
- melothesia, 41–42, 122n
- Metge, Bernat, 22
- Middle Ages: astrology and magic in the, xi, 3–4, 3n, 5–14, 16, 32, 71, 71n; Catalan scientific scholarship during the, 19–26; numerology in the, 44–45, 47–49
- Miquel, Pere, 89
- Mir, Gaspar, 88
- monad, 47, 51
- moon, influence in astrology, xiii, xv, 38–39, 49, 55
- Nafusi, Isaac, xvi
- Nahmanides (a.k.a. Bonastruc Ça Porta), 57
- Nebrija, Antonio de, 74
- necromancy, xv, xvii, xxiv
- Neoplatonism, xii, 14–15, 47, 65, 68, 71
- Nicomachus of Gerasa, 47
- notarikon*, 58
- numerology: Arabic sources for, 49–50, 52, 53–55, 65; Catholic Church and, 47–48; Greek sources for, 47–53, 65–66; Hebrew sources for, 55, 58; lot-casting and, 49–50; names and, 49, 54–55, 62, 67; Neo-Pythagorean, 47, 50–56; Nicomachean philosophy and, 47
- Occitan (Provençal), 82–83 82n, 84, 86n
- onomancy, 49, 54–55
- Parix, Juan (a.k.a Paris), 81, 85, 87
- Patrick, St. (San Patrici), 23, 81
- Pere III "The Ceremonious", King of Aragon, xii, xv–xvi, xxiii, 20–21, 30
- Perellós, Ramón, 81
- Petrarch, 9, 20, 22, 73

- PhiloBiblon* (See also *Bibliografia de textos catalans antics*), 28n
- Picatrix* (Ghāyat al-Hakīm), 24–25, 108n
- Picco della Mirandola, Giovanni de, 10, 23
- Planets, order of in astrological texts, 62–63
- Planck, Juan, 87, 88
- Plato, 47
- Posa, Pere (a.k.a. Pere Poses) 79, 79n, 83, 83n, 85, 88–89
- Pou, Gabriel, 89
- Predicció astrològica 1427*, 29
- Proctor, Robert, 79–81, 83
- prognostication (See astrology, astro-numerology, magic, numerology, etc.)
- Provençal (See Occitan)
- Ptolemy, xi, xiv, xix, xxi, xxiii, 34, 36, 37, 42, 63, 63n, 66, 89, 132n
- Pythagoras, 44, 51–52, 54–55, 66, 132n
- Quadripartitum* (See *Tetrabiblos*)
- Regiomontanus, 89
- Renaissance: astrology and, xi, 10, 14–17, 31, 31n, 34–35, 38, 68, 71; astrological determinism,—views on, 13; cosmology during the, 71; definition of, 5; humanism and, 20, 22, 34, 73–74; magic and, 3–4, 17–19, 22–23; Neoplatonism in, 14–15; scientific experimentation and, 16–17
- Reportorio de los tiempos*, 24, 28, 38, 40, 90
- retrograde movement, 67–68, 68n, 132n
- Rosarius philosophorum*, xiii
- Rosenbach, Juan, 81
- Rosselló (Rousillon), 22
- Salisbury, John of, 9
- Scotus pauperum*, 83
- Secreta secretorum*, 49, 54–55; 63
- Ses Planes, Dalmau (See *Çes Planes*, Dalmau)
- Seville, 59
- signs of the zodiac (See zodiac, signs of)
- Silvester, Bernard(us), 44
- Sinodal de Aguilafuente*, 81n
- sortes* (See lots, casting of; See also *sortes sanctorum*)
- Sortes regis Amalrici*, 44, 50
- sortes sanctorum* (See also lots, casting of), 8, 8n, 14, 44
- Species de cometes*, xxiii
- speculum astronomiae*, 39
- Sphere of Democritus: Prognostic of Life and Death*, 51, 51n
- Spindeler, Nicholaus, 83, 83n
- Summa contra gentiles*, 9
- Summa theologiae* (of St. Thomas Aquinas) 9, 9n, 12n,
- Summa theologica* (of St. Anthony of Florence) 85n
- Tabulae directionum in nativitatibus*, 89
- talismans, 15, 18, 23, 40, 42–43, 69, 106n, 108n
- Tencar*, 24–25, 29, 37, 90, 134n
- Tetrabiblos*, xi, xx, xxv, 34–35, 63n, 89, 136n
- Tetragrammaton*, 10
- Theologica platonica*, 15
- Thomas Aquinas, St.: astrology and, 12; free will and, 13; magic and, 9, 9n; *sortes sanctorum* and, 9, 9n
- Thorndike, Lynn, 26–27, 51, 51n
- Tipenreptorium*, 61, 80
- Tirant lo blanc*, 22
- Torrella, Girolamo (a.k.a. Gironi), 23, 23n, 69
- Toulouse, 79, 82–83, 85–86, 85n, 86n
- Tractat d'astrologia* (of Bartomeu de Tresbéns), 21, 29
- Tractat de Bahare*, 24–25
- Tractat de prenostication de la vida natural dels hòmens*: astrology and, 18–19, 33, 52, 57, 61, 66, 72, 90; collation of, 60; contents of, 61–62; editions of, 59–60, 78, 84–85; *electiones* and *interrogationes* and, 37; free will and, 15, 17, 57; gematria and, 56, 58; geomancy and, 46; in relationship to other scientific literature, 15, 23–32; in Catalan print culture, 89–90; linguistic features of, 73–77, 89; magic and, 3, 4, 4n, 15–19, 68–69, 72; melothesia and, 41; numerology and, 16, 47, 48, 49, 51–55, 72; physical description of, 60–61; provenance of, 77–89; similarities with other Catalan incunables, 82–84; sources for, 24, 31, 56,



- 61–72; transmission of occult sciences and, 5
- Tractat de tot lo cos de la lluna*, 28
- Tractat sobre els novíssims*, 60, 81–82, 81n, 83–84
- Tractatus novus de astronomia*, xiv
- Tresbéns, Bartomeu de, xvi, xxvi, 21, 29
- tséríf*, 57, 58n
- Turner, Henry, 85–86, 86n
- Ulzinelles, Joan d', xv
- Vendrell, Mateu 79, 79n, 81, 83
- Vernet, Antoni, 88
- Vettius Valens, 138n
- Viatge al purgatori de San Patrici d'en Ramón Perellós*, 23, 81–83
- Vidal Efraïm, xvi
- Vilanova, Arnau de: alchemy, and, xii–xiii; astrology and, xii–xiv, xxvii, 19n, 21; dreams and, 82; experimental method of, xii; free will and, xiii; Inquisition's pursuit of, 9, 136n; magic and, xiii–xiv, 19n, 136n; medicine and, xiii, 40
- Violant de Bar, Queen of Aragon, xv
- Vita Christi* (of Francesc Eiximenis), xxiv–xxv
- von Holz, Gregorio, 87, 88n
- Wheel of Life and Death*, 49
- will, free, xiv, xviii–xix, xxii, xxiii, xxv, 7, 12, 12n, 15, 21, 68–71, 136n, 138n
- zodiac: houses of, 33, 35; signs of, 33, 37–38, 44, 63–67;—men, diagrams of, 40
- Zohar*, 56–57

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